Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-018
Monday
30 January 1989

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FBIS-EEU-89-018 *30 January 1989*

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CEMA Official Views Cooperation With EEC

AU2401180289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Jan 89 p 6

[Interview with Prof Marin Petrov, deputy secretary of CEMA, by RABOTNICHESKO DELO Moscow correspondent Atanas Atanasov: "The Development of Cooperation Is Determined by Mutual Interest and Common Responsibility"; date, place not given]

[Text] The year 1988 left a good trace behind in the relations between CEMA and the EEC, namely the joint declaration signed on 25 June on establishing official relations between the two international economic organizations. The importance of this document was the subject of the interview given by CEMA Deputy Secretary Marin Petrov to our Moscow correspondent Atanas Atanasov.

[Atanasov] How did you, as a participant in the Brussels conference, sense the reverberations from the first official step to improve CEMA-EEC relations?

[Petrov] A lively discussion developed in Brussels, in which the familiar signs of distrust and suspicion were absent. The reverberations you mention found expression in the specific interest shown in the positive changes in our countries and in the possibilities and conditions for cooperation in different fields. One important topic at the talks was the numerous artificial barriers that seriously hinder the development of commercial and economic relations between the states of East and West. I am referring to Cocom, the so-called nontariff restrictions, and so on.

[Atanasov] At discussion forums like the Brussels conference, the thesis usually circulates that economic, and especially scientific-technical cooperation, between the countries of the East and West are... "a one-way street."

[Petrov] Yes, this issue, in various forms, was also a subject of attention during the plenary sessions of the club, and even more so during the "private" conversations. I would say that it is still a "natural fellow-traveler" of the stereotypes from the period of economic confrontation, but it is my impression that the proposition is no longer put forward in the categorical, peremptory way that it used to be. It is true that traffic along the "EEC-CEMA street" is not normal. It cannot be denied that this state of affairs has been influenced to some extent by such factors as the unsatisfactory quality of our products, lack of management experience, and so on. However, even our opponents openly acknowledge that if we eliminate the political motivations and customs, and financial, technical, and other restrictions imposed during that period, then the movement of goods between the states of the two systems can be quickly increased in the other direction.

[Atanasov] How would you answer the claim that the exchange of technology and scientific developments only benefits the socialist countries?

[Petrov] I would remind you of the fact that the Common Market states are utilizing over 600 licenses from CEMA member countries. Particularly wide applications have been found for the Soviet license for continuous steel casting and the GDR license to manufacture units of equipment for chemical plants and nuclear power plants. We should also mention the license developed in Bulgaria and purchased by France for the continuous casting of aluminum under pressure. I will also permit myself to put forward another argument, one that essentially is negative in relation to our reality but which provides an indirect answer to that question. The CEMA countries have an immense scientific and technical potential available, and they are ahead in a number of basic research and development fields. For example, in the fields of energy engineering, space, metallurgy, and others, the utilization of basic research in production practice is not always carried out at the defined, let alone optimum, rates. Thus, more than a few inventions originated in the CEMA countries are sold to the West, and later return—already in the form of finished products. In any case, as the U.S. Prof Tom Naylor states, this shortcoming opens up unique opportunities for scientific cooperation and joint enterprises with Western countries that are ahead in converting technologies into real goods.

Last, but not least, I must emphasize that the traffic would be speeded up in the other direction along the "EEC-CEMA street" if the Cocom barriers were removed, as these hinder cooperation in the most progressive sphere and stifle the development of the normal exchange of scientific achievements, equipment, and technologies.

[Atanasov] In which sectors do the most favorable opportunities exist for cooperation benefiting both the national interests of the individual states and the common interests of the continent?

[Petrov] They lie in science, environmental protection, transportation, and the energy industry, especially the nuclear power industry. Work on pressing problems in these fields is being carried out both over there and in our own countries. No one disputes that joint initiatives and combined efforts in one field or another will inevitably provide a powerful impetus to the work. However, problems exist, for example in environmental protection, which cannot possibly be solved within the framework of either a single country or a group of countries. Let us take the energy industry. There is a real possibility and an immediate requirement to create a combined energy system. It would be useful to pool our efforts to create new, ecologically pure energy sources. However, nuclear energy deserves our most serious attention. The lesson of Chernobyl cannot be forgotten. It is a very good thing that the inhabitants of the Old World of Europe are becoming increasingly aware that global problems like the safety of nuclear power plants can certainly be resolved by combined means and efforts.

[Atanasov] The states of the two communities are solving many similar tasks in parallel, under their own independent, long-term programs. I am thinking of the West European "Eureka" program and the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Member States Through the Year 2000. What are the prospects for cooperation in this direction?

[Petrov] The programs are not similar, but they are identical in many respects. About 80 percent of the points in the main directions of the two programs are identical. Naturally, if we were to combine even part of the potential of the two groups, we would substantially accelerate scientific and technical progress on the European Continent. However, at present we are only discussing the opportunities for cooperation in this direction. It appears that there is mutual agreement to start with consultations, symposiums, exchanges of scientists and specialists, and then proceed to joint research and development projects.

[Atanasov] What is being done on our part to draw closer to the requirements and claims of the future partners?

[Petrov] The question is very relevant, but it is impossible to give a simple answer, for there are many aspects. In my opinion, the most characteristic and definitive factor in this context is the restructuring of the economies that is under way in most of the countries of the socialist community, in accordance with the principles of economic independence, self-management, and self-financing, combined with a wide opening up to everything progressive and promising that universal human progress produces. The December 1988 plenum of the BCP Central Committee provides us with a concrete idea of the essence, scope, and goal of the changes being carried out. The plenum gave priority to economic methods of managing the national economy, to transforming the economy, and adapting it to the requirements of the international market and the world economy.

The mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration is also being restructured. Command-administrative methods of economic leadership are gradually giving way to economic ones, on both the national and international scale.

Preparations are in hand for creating the required conditions for expanding commodity-money relationships, introducing the convertibility of national currencies and the exchange ruble [prevodnata rubla], bringing production prices in the CEMA countries closer to world prices, and gradually forming a combined socialist market in the long term. As an international organization, CEMA is drawing up a legal and organizational foundation for these measures, and it will naturally utilize all opportunities for exchanging information with the EEC. This would enable the partners' interests to be brought closer together and would facilitate contacts between enterprises and organizations. This will mean creating suitable conditions for cooperation between the CEMA and EEC countries in the spirit of the joint declaration, in harmony with the strategic idea of building the "common European home."

CSSR's Obzina on Technology Lag, Currencies

AU2801162689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jan 89 p 1

["ti"-signed report: "Fundamental Changes of Economic Cooperation Are Ready; J. Obzina on the Session of the CEMA Executive Committee"]

[Text] Moscow (our correspondent)—Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier and the CSSR's standing representative to CEMA, discussed the results of the 130th session of the CEMA Executive Committee with Czechoslovak journalists in Moscow on Wednesday [25 January].

The deliberations of the Executive Committee addressed fundamental changes in economic cooperation and socialist integration in conjuction with the 46th CEMA session to be held in 1990, J. Obzina said. A working version of a document for the 46th session is to be worked out this year and will be assessed at the following two sessions of the Executive Committee. The document is to be discussed and approved at the CEMA session in 1990.

As for the pace of the restructuring of the cooperation mechanism within the CEMA framework, we lost almost 1 year in the past period, the CSSR representative noted. Czechoslovakia has been meeting its deadlines since the 44th CEMA session. We will submit the CSSR working variant of CEMA's activity in March. One has to enter the next 5-year plan with clarified mechanisms and principles.

I have no doubt that the CEMA perspective is positive, he noted further. It arises from the successes that CEMA has achieved in the past 40 years. CEMA's perspectives depend on the development of the principles of price-setting—it is necessary to achieve a situation in which identical price principles are applied in all types of production and services. It is also necessary to achieve realistic exchange rates for the transferable ruble and national currencies vis-a-vis international currencies. Also, a better division of labor is a problem, because without a division of tasks and without the creation of adequate supplies of goods, one cannot speak about a common market. There is enough strength and will to eliminate the technical and technological lag that could endanger further socialist development, and in the next 15 years to attain the level of the world's most developed countries.

We have proposed establishing a CEMA press center to which journalists from both the socialist and the capitalist countries will be accredited, as well as publishing CEMA's information bulletin, J. Obzina said, among other things.

Jaromir Obzina also mentioned the customs measures recently adopted by a number of CEMA states. He said that these are protective measures aimed at ensuring the domestic market. As long as realistic exchange rates are not created, then customs restrictions are a lesser evil than a strain on the domestic market, he said.

Hungary's Varkonyi Views CSCE Final Document

AU2301180689 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi by correspondent Gyorgy V. Nonn: "Hungary Intends To Carry Out Every Point of the Vienna Final Document—Peter Varkonyi Gives Exclusive Interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Nonn] Hungary adopted the final document of the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna on 13 January. The question that arises is the following: Why is this good for us?

[Varkonyi] The debate at the CSCE follow-up meeting and the substantial final document have strengthened the awareness of our European connection. We are paying attention to and caring for each other. Hungary greatly needs this in its political and economic activity. The final document contains a mandate for future talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. Hungary will, for the first time, attend a European consultation on issues that directly affect its security. We hope that the first measures to be formulated at these talks will affect Hungary. The Vienna follow-up conference also provided an opportunity for an evaluation in human dimensions of the "new way of thinking." The Vienna meeting has attained positive results in the fields of human, human relations, information, culture, and education, on issues that affect people directly. These agreements are broadening the basis of understanding between East and West in the important area of confidence building.

[Nonn] Could you give us an example?

[Varkonyi] The idea of a humanitarian conference to be held in Moscow—for many people an absurd and illusory idea—has become reality as a result of the changes that have taken place in our international environment and at the conference itself. The acceleration in the development of European integration and the reform processes currently under way in some socialist countries make it necessary, and the economic conference to be convened on the basis of the Vienna final document makes it possible to start joint deliberations on our economic affairs.

[Nonn] The content of the final document concerning national minority rights is, perhaps, even more interesting to us.

[Varkonyi] In this document, the member states acknowledge the cultural, ethnic, language, and religious identity of the national minorities as communities. This is a step forward toward our goal of making the collective rights of national minorities recognized. The Helsinki agreements have been extended with the right of the national minorities to receive information in their mother tongue—namely, the opportunity to maintain contacts with people of the same national origin who are living in other member states. A separate chapter deals with preserving the cultural relics of national minorities.

[Nonn] The Vienna follow-up meeting has established a consultation and verification mechanism concerning the so-called human dimension. How can this be used?

[Varkonyi] A series of problems can be discussed in this framework, such as the implementation of religious freedom, the fulfillment of obligations related to traveling abroad and family reunification, the possibilities of supplying information materials, or the issue of preserving cultural monuments. The mechanism itself is a summary of already known diplomatic procedures; it is a new thing, however, that, concerning these measures, the final document excludes the possibility of refusing complaints under the pretext of the principle of noninterference in internal affairs. The member governments can ask one another for information and for bilateral consultations to resolve or clarify certain specific cases.

[Nonn] What if all this does not lead to results?

[Varkonyi] The series of conferences on human dimensions—which will take place annually—will provide a forum to inform about and evaluate the implementation of the aforementioned measures in an all-European framework. Governments will also have the opportunity to inform one another of cases and situations which they think violate the Helsinki process agreements. In short, greater publicity will be given to implementing obligations in the fields of human rights and humanitarian issues. Hungary has adopted the Vienna final document and will implement each paragraph in each field.

Olechowski Meets FRG, Netherlands Counterparts

LD1901031389 Warsaw PAP in English 2307 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, Jan. 18—Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, staying here at the CSCE meeting, met today with Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek. They discussed bilateral relationships and the negotiations between Poland and the EEC. Van den Broek held it expedient to maintain the dialogue and contacts between both countries, and therefore he repeated the invitation for Olechowski to pay an official visit to the Hague this year.

Olechowski met also the FRG Foreign Minister Vice-Chancellor Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The talk, following last week's Paris meeting of the two ministers, came as a manifestation of the striving to break the deadlock in Polish-FRG relations. The two discussed current problems, primarily the economic ones. The meeting precedes an unofficial visit by Poland's Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski to Bonn, scheduled for January 20.

Balkan Deputy Ministers' Protocol Issued

AU2501190989 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 21 Jan 89 p 1

["Protocol of Meeting of Senior Officials of Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Balkan Countries," held in Tirana on 18-20 January]

[Text] The meeting of senior officials of the ministries of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries was held in Tirana on 18-20 January 1989, in conformity with the recommendations of the Belgrade meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs and the agreement reached at the meeting of senior officials in Sofia.

Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, addressed a message of greetings to the meeting.

The Tirana meeting was attended by the delegations of the Foreign Ministries of Bulgaria, led by Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs; of the Greek Republic, led by Ambassador Konstandinos Yeoryiou, general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; of the SR of Romania, led by Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs; of the Republic of Turkey, led by Ambassador Tansug Bleda, deputy under secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; of the SFRY, led by Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary of foreign affairs; and of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, who was elected chairman of the meeting.

Reis Malile, Albanian minister of foreign affairs, received the leaders of the delegations, participated in the opening session, and addressed the meeting.

The senior officials analyzed and assessed the activities and initiatives within the framework of multilateral cooperation in 1988, and examined the ideas and new possibilities for continuing this cooperation in the future.

Constructive efforts were made in 1988 by all the parties concerned to seek and identify fields of cooperation in the common interest, and concrete activities were undertaken in this direction. The senior officials welcomed the results of the meeting of the transport ministers of the Balkan countries, which was held in Belgrade, and noted with pleasure their proposal to hold further periodic meetings.

The senior officials assessed the results of the preparatory work carried out in Ankara on 13-14 December 1988 for a meeting of the economic and foreign trade ministers. They recommended that a ministerial meeting be held in Ankara on 15-16 March 1989.

The participants in the meeting also assessed the efforts made and results in a drafting a convention for the protection of the environment of the Balkan countries, which was held in the city of Pravets, Bulgaria. The meeting recommended that the group entrusted with drafting the convention should meet in Marmaris, Turkey in February 1989.

The senior officials of the ministries of foreign affairs reiterated the benefits of creating a research institute for Balkan economic cooperation in Athens. They took note of the report on this question prepared by a working group, in conformity with the agreement reached in Sofia, and recommended that the aforementioned group should meet again in Athens by the end of February 1989, in order to examine other aspects of the question pertaining to the establishment and functioning of the said institute.

The deputy ministers also assessed the agreements reached at the 2lst Conference of Balkan Countries for Tourism, which was held in Bulgaria. They also assessed the positive contributions made in activities pertaining to various fields, such as the meeting of the rectors of Balkan universities, held in Bucharest; the meetings of the national commissions of the Balkan countries for UNESCO, held in Ankara; the session of the Balkan Medical Association in Athens, and so forth.

The meeting of the senior officials of the ministries of foreign affairs stressed the will and readiness of the Balkan countries to deepen and consolidate the process of inter-Balkan cooperation, on the basis of complete equality and mutual respect, for the benefit of understanding, good-neighborliness, and cooperation in the region, as well as for the benefit of peace and security in the Balkans and Europe in general.

The meeting recommended that the next meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries be held in Tirana, in October 1990.

The next meeting of senior officials of the ministries of foreign affairs will be held in Greece this fall.

The meeting discussed the proposal to hold a meeting of the heads of state or government of the Balkan countries in Bucharest, and stressed the importance of creating the necessary conditions for organizing such a meeting.

The senior officials took note of Albania's proposal to draft and approve the principles of good-neighborliness in the Balkans.

The senior officials recommended an increase in contacts between their respective parliaments, and the examination of possibilities to create parliamentary groups for Balkan friendship and cooperation. Attention was paid to the proposal to transform the Balkans into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free region. A recommendation was made to hold further discussions on this proposal.

The meeting also stressed that nongovernmental organizations could also contribute to strengthening the spirit of Balkan cooperation through various forms of activity.

The senior officials of the ministries of foreign affairs took note of the proposal made by the mayor of Belgrade to the mayors of the capitals of the Balkan countries—that is, the mayors of Ankara, Athens, Bucharest, Sofia, and Tirana—to hold a meeting in Yugoslavia, at a date to be agreed upon.

The senior officials agreed on the date and venue of other activities, as follows:

A meeting on industrial cooperation and technology transfer, at the ministerial level, to be held in Romania by the end of May or the beginning of June 1989. A meeting of the ministers of energy, to be held in Tirana during the 1st half of 1990. A group of experts is to meet in Tirana during the 2d half of 1989 to prepare this meeting. A meeting of experts of the Balkan countries to discuss measures to promote understanding and security, to be held in Bucharest during the 2d quarter of 1989. A special meeting on the development of economic and trade cooperation between the Balkan countries, to be held in Bucharest during the 2d half of 1990. A meeting of experts in the field of public health, to be held in Greece during the 2d half of 1989.

The senior officials recommended that experts on cultural, humanitarian, and information media questions should meet in Sofia during the 2d half of September, and in Ankara, possibly before the end of 1989.

Proceeding from the nature of these activities, the meeting determined that they should be open to public opinion, including the information media.

The necessary organization of these meetings will be the responsibility of the host countries, in consultation and cooperation with all the Balkan countries.

A meeting of experts, who will discuss cooperation in the fight against terrorism and against drug and arms trafficking, will be held in Belgrade, possibly in June 1989. A meeting of representatives of ministries of agriculture will be held in Athens during the 1st half of 1990. Meetings of the committees for Balkan understanding and cooperation and of similar nongovernmental organizations will be held in Tirana in October 1989.

Taking into consideration the number of meetings held for the same purpose, the participants agreed that the holding of such meetings should be rotated, according to the principle of alphabetical order, as in the case of the meetings of foreign ministers and of their senior officials.

The meeting of the senior officials of the foreign ministries took place in a constructive and understanding spirit. The meeting showed appreciation for the commitment and efforts of all the Balkan countries to incessantly promote the process of multilateral and bilateral cooperation in the region.

The meeting of senior officials expressed its appreciation for the manner in which its proceedings took place and conveyed its gratitude to the Albanian Government for the warm hospitality accorded to the participating delegations.

Further on Conclusion of Balkan Conference

Bulgarian-Greek Talks

AU2201143289 Tirana ATA in English 0735 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 22 (ATA)—On January 21, the delegation of the PR [People's Republic] of Bulgaria, headed by the deputy foreign minister, Ivan Ganev, and the delegation of the Hellenic Republic, headed by the general secretary in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Konstandinos Yeoryiou, who took part in the deputy foreign ministers' meeting of the Balkan states, left our country.

The delegations were seen off by the deputy foreign ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Sokrat Plaka and Muhamet Kapllani.

SFRY Delegation Leaves 22 Jan

AU2201195489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] The delegation of the SFRY headed by Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, which took part in the meeting of deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states, left our country today.

The delegation was seen off by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Turkish Delegation Departs 23 Jan

AU2301202789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] The delegation of the Republic of Turkey headed by Tansug Bleda, deputy under secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which participated in the meeting of deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states, left our country today. The delegation was seen off by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Romanian Delegation Leaves

AU2601092089 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 26 (ATA)—The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, headed by Constantin Oancea, deputy foreign minister, that took part in the meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan states left our country on January 25.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Sokrat Plaka, vice minister of foreign affairs.

Present was also Gheorghe Pop, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Romania to the PSR of Albania.

In the course of its stay in our country, the Romanian delegation visited sociocultural centers in the cities of Gjirokaster, Sarande, and Kruje.

Press Carries Kosovo Academics' Protest
AU2901145289 Tirana ATA in English
0750 GMT 29 Jan 89

["Press Review"—ATA headline]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The newspaper DRITA carries an article entitled "What Is Not Albanization" and subtitled: "Usage and Misusage of a Notion," "On the Seals and Inscriptions," "On Toponyms, Ethnonyms and Anthroponyms," "Even Architecture Is Offended," "On Emigrants," "Political Births," "What University of Pristina Is in Need of," and "A Concept as Political Instrument." The article is taken from the newspaper RILINDJA of Pristina which emphasizes at the beginning that the Association of the University Pedagogues and of the Scientific Working People of Kosovo is indignant at some writings disdainful and unacceptable as for their civilizing level, at the denials and "teachings" the Association of University Pedagogues and Other Scientific Working People, as well as the Scientific Association of the SR of Serbia give, through the letters published in the newspaper POLITIKA of December 10, 11, and 12 last year. To this end the Association of the University Pedagogues and Scientific Workers of Kosovo sent this writing to the newspaper RILINDJA which published it in the January 11 and 12 1989 issues.

The said article writes among others:

The newspaper RILINDJA has reacted towards some views presented in the article by the newspaper POLITIKA specially towards the proposal to do with the Albanological Institute and a number of faculties in Pristina University. In its reply, the Association of the University Pedagogues and Other Scientific Working People of the SR of Serbia and the Scientific Association of the SR of Serbia have availed themselves of the opportunity to repeat many of those that could have been read thousands of times for whole years at the Belgrade press, or could have been heard from the political, scientific, and cultural tribunes of Belgrade on the University of Pristina, on the cooperation of this university with the University of Belgrade, on the cooperation of this university with the Tirana University, on the scientific and cultural institutions of Kosovo, on the equality and inequality of languages in Kosovo, on the constitutional position of Kosovo, as it is today, according to the Constitution of the year 1974 and what might it be tomorrow, according to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia of the year 1989.

In particular the article of RILINDJA stresses that the Association of the University Pedagogues and of the Scientific Working People of Serbia have found the explanation of the Kosovo situation in the political notion of Albanization (Albanizacija), which sometimes is substituted with the notion, stylistic colouring for it, Shqiptarizacija. ["Albanizacija" and "Shqiptarizacija" both mean "Albanization" in Serbo-Croatian; the latter has derogatory connotations]

The Association of University Pedagogues and of the Scientific Working People of Serbia sees Albanization firstly "from the school seal to the judicial seal," because according to their opinion, Kosovo's Albanization consists in the fact that the seals are made except in the Serbo-Croatian even in the Albanian language even in those elementary of secondary schools, in which the majority of the pupils are of Albanian nationality, because according to their opinion Kosovo's Albanization consists in the fact that the seals of the Kosovo courts, in which the absolute majority of the condemned is made up of Albanians, are made besides in the Serbo-Croatian language even in the Albanian one. [sentence as received]

This association witnesses Albanization even "in the inscriptions of the school down to the inscriptions of the institution or enterprise" because according to their opinion, Kosovo's Albanization consists in the fact whether the inscriptions except in the Serbo-Croatian are written also in the Albanian language, in the primary and secondary schools, in which the majority of the pupils are of Albanian nationality, because according to their opinion, Kosova's Albanization consists in the fact that the inscription of the Albanological Institute, which studies the historic and cultural traditions of the Albanian people, is written except in the Serbo-Croatian even in the Albanian language .

It views Albanization also in the names of schools, city streets, toponymy, ethnonymy, and anthroponymy, even in architecture.

Further on RILINDJA points out that for the Association of the University Pedagogues and Scientific Workers Of Serbia Albanization consists in the number of emigrants from Albania. Belgrade's mass media has manipulated the public opinion with the number of these emigrants according to the needs of the daily policy.

This association views Albanization also in the natality. The working people of this association have enriched the political vocabulary on the Albanian natality with new figurative expression: "explosion of the natality of the Albanian human population."

What have some Serbian university pedagogues and scientific workers not written or spoken on this "explosion." Besides, according to them, this is a premeditated diversion of the Albanian political reason in Kosovo. If only the children could be born out of political motives. Some of them went even further, counting the number of Albanians In the year 2000, in the year 2025, even in the year 2050. They calculated the number of the Albanians in these years so that to prove how much Macedonia, Serbia, Yugoslavia even southeastern Europe will be endangered by them. It means that more than 2 million Albanians endanger the living space of 10 million Serbs, even the 21 million inhabitants of Yugoslavia itself. The Association of the University Pedagogues and Scientific Workers of Serbia,

RILINDJA underlines, witnesses Albanization even in Pristina University. Some of them have long since opposed the founding of this university. Their "argument" is: As it was decided that this the university be founded in Pristina,then it is necessary that teaching in this university be conducted "mainly in Serbo-Croatian, in which the teaching of the Albanian language will also be secured."

The distinguished citizens of the world, humanists, internationalists, have always combatted so that all peoples of the world be given the possibility to study nature, society, and history in the language they know better and love more, and express their knowledge in that language they know better and love more,in their mother tongue.

The Association of the University Pedagogues and Scientific Workers of Serbia, RILINDJA continues, views Albanization wherever there are Albanians, wherever the Albanian language is written. To cut it short: everything Albanian for them is Albanization. Therefore, it can be said that the concept of Albanization is a political instrument through which repression is aimed at, which endangers the Albanian historic spiritual and cultural values—the cultural identity and integrity of the Albanian people. The fictive Albanization is a clear example of Albanophobia. If it were not so, the abolishing of the Albanological Institute and of the University-Popular Library in Pristina would not have been proposed, the teaching in Serbo-Croatian at the Pristina University would have not been demanded, the change of school names carrying names of the most brilliant personalities of the Albanian history and culture such as Skenderbeg, Hasan Prishtina, Bajram Curri, Naim Frasheri, Fan Noli, Luigj Gurakuqi, etc. would have not been demanded.

It seems the university pedagogues and scientific workers of Serbia forget that the Albanians have their own language and that this language should exist even in school and judicial seals, the Albanians have their history and culture and that this history and culture should be indicated even through the school and city streets' names, that they have their national architecture and that it is quite natural that even this architecture affects the Kosovo contemporary architecture. It seems, they forget that the Albanians are in their ancient homeland where their Illyrian predecessors lived and for this reason the cultural view of Kosovo has never been and maybe can't be even in the future without the characteristics of their culture.

Meanwhile, the Albanians of Kosovo respect and love the Serbian culture in Kosovo, just like all the national cultures of the world. They have never spoken of Kosovo's Serbization. Respecting and loving the Serbian culture in general, the Albanians have the right to demand that even the Association of the University Pedagogues and Scientific Working People of Serbia respect their culture and history. The Albanians can have neither another history nor another culture, except for the one they possess and are proud of. [passage omitted]

New Volume of Enver Hoxha Diary Published

AU2801174689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] The fifth volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's diary has come off the presses and is now for sale. The volume includes notes and theses written in 1963, containing ideas, reflections, and conclusions on important aspects of the work of the party and of the masses in the country's socialist construction relying on our own forces. The material in the diary analyzes international events and situations and reflects the firm Marxist-Leninist stand of the AWP in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

Foreign Minister Malile To Visit Turkey 'Soon'

AU2701200089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] At the invitation of Mesut Yilmaz, minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, Reis Malile, minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, will soon pay an official and friendly visit to the Republic of Turkey.

During this visit, he will discuss matters pertaining to the friendly relations that exist between our two countries and their further development.

Zhivkov Announces Military Budget, Forces Cut

AU2701195789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Today, 27 January, a joint meeting of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was held. It discussed a proposal on one-sided reduction of the Armed Forces, armaments, and the military budget, submitted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

In the speech he delivered on this occasion he stressed: Today, this joint meeting of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is called upon to discuss and decide on a question of exceptional importance, related to the one-sided reduction of Armed Forces, armaments, and the military budget.

I think it would not be exaggerating to state that this act in itself is an eloquent indicator of the considerable changes that have occurred in recent years in the international atmosphere. In accordance with the new political thinking, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, and together with them, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, are adopting a series of bold initiatives on the international scene. These initiatives are intended to shift the decisive focus from military to political factors in safeguarding national security, and thus to consistently and positively solve the main issue of international policy—namely, the question of war and peace.

Positive, new trends are making headway in present-day inter-state relations, and opportunities exist for them to assert themselves and become lasting and prevailing. We are observing profound changes in the various spheres of social, economic, and political life of the states; we are observing changes in the way of thinking and the philosophy of leading political circles, and of social strata and groups.

With the historical INF Treaty signed between the USSR and the United States, mankind accomplished the first step toward the actual elimination of nuclear weapons. It was again with political, and not military means that the knots of numerous regional conflicts and hotbeds of tension began to loosen on our globe.

The recently completed Vienna CSCE conference and the decisions adopted mark the beginning of a new stage in European policy. In March 1989, new negotiations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states will begin that are related to the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals. Negotiations among all European states, the United States, and Canada on confidence and security measures are being resumed.

We are about to begin publishing data on the armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In the Balkans, too, a process of multilateral cooperation in areas of mutual interests is already developing. These new trends give us the possibility of and the justification for looking in a new way at the entire complex of questions connected with security.

In these circumstances of improving East-West relations, the Soviet Union, the GDR, and Poland adopted decisions on the one-sided reduction of their armed forces.

I think it would do no harm to Bulgaria's security and to the security of our allies if we were to implement a one-sided reduction.

For this reason I propose the following: The 1989 budget of the Ministry of National Defense is to be reduced by 12 percent. The numerical staff of the Bulgarian People's Army and its armaments is to be reduced by 10,000 men by the end of 1990. The armaments are to be reduced by 200 tanks, 200 artillery systems, 20 aircraft, and 5 naval units.

I propose that the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria should adopt such a decision.

This decision is an expression of the consistent, peace-loving foreign policy of our party and state. It will be our contribution to the joint efforts for the consolidation of peace in the world, Europe, and in the Balkans.

There is no doubt that our people will support this peace-loving and humanitarian act.

Taking into consideration the successful development of the all-European process, the favorable conditions established for a further reduction of military confrontation, and for the strengthening of European and world security on the basis of confidence and cooperation, as well as considering the agreements reached among the Warsaw Pact member states, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria decided:

To reduce the country's military budget for 1989 by 12 percent. To reduce the Armed Forces of the country by 10,000 men, 200 tanks, 200 artillery systems, 20 aircraft, and 5 naval units.

BCP Daily Comments

AU3001103789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Goodwill"]

[Text] This is already a fact, one which we not only desired, but also anticipated, and which evokes not only satisfaction and hope, but also self-confidence.

Bulgaria is unilaterally reducing its 1989 military budget 12 per cent, and its Armed Forces and armaments by 10,000 soldiers, 200 tanks, 20 aircraft, and 5 naval units.

Is this a large or small quantity? It is, both literally and figuratively, a sufficient quantity and a timely measure. This is especially so if we assess the decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers within the context of the change in international relations toward peace and security for all people, as a result of the bold and decisive initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It is a sufficient quantity because it guarantees the reliable defense of our country's sovereignty and the peaceful work of its citizens and does not harm the interests of our allies. It is a timely measure because thus we occupy our place and assume responsibility in the world peace process.

Not long ago one could not even think about such a development of international relations. That was the time of the "cold war" and the fatal arms race. Mankind reached the precipice of nuclear destruction and faced a choice with no alternative. The beginning of the great change was marked by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent USSR peace initiatives, whose attractiveness and effectiveness were enhanced by the activity of Mikhail Gorbachev and the fraternal country's party and state leadership.

The striving toward a balance of interests and giving priority to universal human interests facilitated the unique event of 1988—the ratification of the INF Treaty. The voluntary destruction of weapons began for the first time in history. Afterward, the decisions of the USSR and the other socialist countries to unilaterally reduce armed forces and withdraw Soviet and equipment from central Europe were announced. Soon data will be published by the USSR and its allies on the troops and armaments on the European Continent.

The peaceful offensive of socialism, coordinated with the new historical world situation, asserts the new political thinking in international life. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is in the front ranks of this offensive. Despite its small size it actively participates in international relations and the world processes. With the decision of 27 January 1989 to reduce the Armed Forces and armaments, adopted at the proposal of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and with its example, our country demonstrates that there are no big and small states in the struggle for peace and mankind's future, and that all states are equally responsible and can make their own contribution. This decision is a logical expression of our consistent and peace-loving foreign policy. With its initiatives aimed at turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, developing cooperation in the spheres of ecology, economy, and culture, and strengthening confidence among nations, Bulgaria has acquired deserved international recognition and authority.

The decision to reduce the Armed Forces and armaments has not only military, but also political importance as a fact that confirms the truth that peace is the essence of socialism. In guaranteeing national security it transfers the gravity from the military to political factors and thus positively solves the main problems of war and peace. As far as the specific application to our country is concerned, Bulgaria again proved that now, at the stage of our society's revolutionary restructuring, it broadly opens itself to the world, and that its foreign policy of peace and cooperation is not determined by ad hoc considerations.

This important step, made together with the USSR, the GDR, the CSSR, and Poland, which also adopted decisions on unilaterally reducing their Armed Forces, is also economically important, because thus human and material resources will be released and activated for the benefit of the people and the peaceful competition among nations.

Perhaps the absolute dimensions of our reductions are not decisive or essential against the background of the entire world; however, they have a significant moral weight. Only a few days after the Vienna meeting, which gave a mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals and adopting further measures on strengthening confidence and security, our country has given a positive example of goodwill and readiness to actively participate in this process.

'Expression of Good Will'

AU2901185389 Sofia BTA in English 1625 GMT 29 Jan 89

["A Signal of Constructive Approach"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA political observer Aleksandur Vladkov)—The decision of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on a unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces and on cuts in the country's 1989 military spending is an act of great military and political consequence.

With the existing military force capabilities in Europe, the Bulgarian-declared reductions will hardly alter the overall East-West balance of power. Judged by the standards of Bulgaria, however, their value is far from inconsiderable. Still, this is not what matters most in this case.

Introducing the motion on this decision, State Council President Todor Zhivkov emphasized that the idea of such initiatives is to shift the decisive centre of gravity in safeguarding national security from military to political factors and thus to help strengthen peace and international security. Moreover, these initiatives are launched at an important stage of the development of international relations, when every political goodwill gesture gives an important impetus to the positive tendencies of the last few years.

Combined with the similar steps taken by the U.S.S.R. and the other states parties to the Warsaw Treaty, the Bulgarian state leadership's decision to make unilateral reductions of troop levels, combat materiel and military

spending acquires the value of an important politico-military initiative. The socialist countries have always addressed the problem of disarmament guided by an awareness of the need to achieve the lowest possible level of armaments in Europe on a continental and a regional scale. The unilateral reductions which Bulgaria now implements give this awareness its tangible dimension and exemplify this country's pursuit of security, cooperation and goodneighbourliness in the Balkans.

The first reaction to this move in Bulgaria and abroad shows that this expression of goodwill is viewed by the Bulgarian and the international public as a specific manifestation of new political thinking, as a signal of a constructive approach at the forthcoming talks in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Atanasov Receives GDR Foreign Trade Minister

AU2601203489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] On 26 January Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade. During the talks they expressed satisfaction with the positive results that have been achieved in the two countries' trade exchange in 1988. They discussed the basic approaches that guarantee the further development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

Atanasov Meets With Austrian Economic Delegation

AU2701182589 Sofia BTA in English 1653 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 27 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Dr Hugo Sekyra, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Austrian Nationalized Industries Holding Company (O.I.A.G.). He briefed the guest on some of the highlights of the economic reform in this country.

The sides commended highly the contracts signed between the Austrian Nationalized Industries Holding Company and Bulgarian economic organisations. It was indicated that these documents place on a sound basis the activation of cooperation in technological retooling, engineering, techno-scientific developments for metal works etc. The sides considered the opportunities for the application of more advanced forms of interaction between Austrian companies and Bulgarian organizations.

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A consortium agreement was signed today between economic and foreign trade subsidiaries of the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association and the Austrian Company Voest Alpine on the construction of production capacities in Bulgaria.

The parties will also engage in joint technological, marketing and engineering work on facilities and tooling for the high-tech projects under construction.

Planning Minister Speaks at News Conference

AU2701213189 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 27 (BTA)—The Second World Exhibition of the Achievements of Young Inventors "EXPO'91" will be held in Plovdiv from June 7 through July 7, 1991. Its holding was officially confirmed at the 104th General Assembly of the International Exhibitions Bureau. The exhibition is organized under the honorary patronage of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, and Dr Arpad Bogsch, director general of the World Intellectual Property Organization.

Today the "EXPO'91" organizing committee held its first session in Sofia. Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, chairman of the organizational committee and minister of economy and planning, informed a group of Bulgarian and foreign journalists about the preparations for the world exhibition.

This international event will encourage the sci-technical and cultural exchange between all countries in the world and will promote friendship, confidence and cooperation between all peoples. It will stimulate the development of youth invention, thus contributing to upgrading the scientific, cultural and social progress of the developing countries.

Reporting on the conditions for making entries for the world exhibition, Mr Stoyan Ovcharov explained that all inventors born after January 1955 can take part in it. Entries will be accepted up to the end of 1990.

An international jury will grade the young inventors' entries made for the exhibition and will award prizes, including special prizes of the president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, gold medals of the World Intellectual Property Organization, etc.

An international conference on the theory and practice of world youth invention will be held during the exhibition in Plovdiv to sum up the results of a comprehensive sociological enquiry held jointly with the World Intellectual Property Organization. There will be a world youth festival of informatics and science fiction, a film festival, specialized scientific conferences and symposia at which the young inventors of different countries will defend their views and ideas on the development of science in different branches of human knowledge.

Dyulgerov Returns From Budapest TU Meeting

AU2201193689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, returned on 22

January from Budapest. He took part in the working meeting of the chairmen of the trade unions of the European socialist countries.

*French Daily Reports on Mitterrand Visit

*Long-Term Goals

WA29000015 Paris LE MONDE in French 19 Jan 89 p 6

[Article by special correspondent Alain Jacob: "Mitterrand in Sofia: The First Visit of a French Head of State to Bulgaria"]

[Text] Sofia—The French tricolor flags waved alongside Bulgarian standards, the snow had been carefully swept from the sidewalks, and bright sunshine heralded Mr Mitterrand's arrival in Sofia on Wednesday, 18 January. The French president's visit was, however, very brief; he did not stay much more than 30 hours in Bulgaria. His schedule was also relatively light. Apart from a "working lunch," soon after his arrival, Mitterrand had only one real meeting—on Thursday afternoon—with Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian head of state and party leader. The five French ministers who accompanied Mitterrand were scheduled to meet with several members of the Bulgarian Government before the state dinner Wednesday evening.

According to the French side, the purpose of the visit was to "initiate a different type of relations between the two Europes." As evidence for this, there were agreements on economic matters—several businessmen were part of the delegation—and contacts outside official political channels. In addition to meetings with diverse religious figures in a flawless odor of sanctity, Mitterrand spent most of Thursday afternoon at the Academy of Sciences and later at the Kliment Okhridski University in Sofia, before adjourning to a private dinner at the French ambassador's residence. There were so many opportunities to meet a few people who might have personal views on what restructuring and glasnost in Bulgaria could become.

On the eve of his departure from Paris, spokesmen said the goals of the visit were for the "medium and long term." A way of suggesting, if one understands this phrase correctly, that it was more a matter of the establishment of a dialogue more between states and peoples than between current leaders.

In this country where there is a long tradition of teaching the French language such a dialogue is very much in demand today.

This is hardly the diplomatic event of the year, but it is at least a notable occasion for Buglaria. In 1966 General DeGaulle received Zhivkov, who was only a prime minister [he was also party leader]. This is the first time that a French head of state made an official visit there.

*Soviets Encourage Name Changes

WA29000015 Paris LE MONDE in French 19 Jan 89 p 6

[Unsigned article: "Lessons of 'De-Zhdanovization'"]

[Text] Sofia—On Tuesday, 17 January, Moscow officially decided to "de-baptize" all the locations named for Andrey Zhdanov, a leader from the Stalinist era. The Soviets did not, however, wait for this decision in order to "coach" their Bulgarian comrades in the art of "de-Zhdanovization."

The SOFIA NEWS [appears in French, English, and other foreign languages] issue for the week of 23 November 1988 contained a letter from a reader who was scandalized to find a Zhdanov Street in the center of the Bulgarian capital. The letter was signed simply: "L.G. Parfionov, chief editor of Soviet television, general editorial staff for propaganda, Moscow, USSR."

Naive or cynical? Mr Parfionov expressed his surprise at seeing "how many streets, squares, etc, bear the names of his compatriots," every time he visits Bulgaria. He deplored the fact that "plaques with Zhdanov's name on a street in Sofia belong to the sadly famous period when the Bulgarian city Varna was called Stalin, and the metallurgical complex at Kremikovski, more recently, bore the name of Brezhnev."

*Joint News Conference

WA29000015 Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Jan 89 p 7

[Article by Alain Jacob: "Concluding Francois Mitterrand's Visit to Sofia: Pluralism—French and Bulgarian Versions"]

[Text] Sofia—On Thursday evening Mitterrand and Zhivkov held a joint news conference shortly before the French president left for Paris; an infrequent, and relatively unproductive, exercise, considering each had already expressed himself quite a bit in the preceding 36 hours. Both had already reviewed, at length, progress on detente and the prospects which it offers Europe.

Some of the questions did, however, provoke noteworthy reactions. Mitterrand, who expressed his satisfaction in finding "all kinds of opinions, both favorable and disapproving," declared himself "a believer in pluralism." While observing that it was written in the principles, enunciated at Helsinki and confirmed in Vienna, he stated that progress was still necessary "to insure that the barriers fall in Europe."

But that is a ticklish topic for Zhivkov. "When one speaks of pluralism," he said, "it is necessary to take into consideration the concrete conditions of each country. The time has passed when the postulates of one socialist country were obligatory for another. Each country should develop according to its own interests." Zhivkov

could well admit that "restructuring has two aspects: the first, a profound change in every sphere of life; the second is de nocratization." But, he insisted, raising his voice, "to copy such or such a country, that time has long passed."

As for Mitterrand, he adopted a caustic tone to explain why the French journalists did not depict quite the same image of Bulgaria in their articles any more than he did in his own remarks. "Freedom of the press is inconvenient. But the absence of liberty is even more so," he said.

Finally, Zhivkov came to life when he was asked about freedom of movement across the border. He favors it, he said, since Bulgaria had signed the final accord in Vienna. "There are no more problems, he continued; but, he went on in a 'cry from the heart:' "We need foreign currency!"

*Questions From Students

WA29000015 Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Jan 89 p 7

[Article by Alain Jacob: "Should Zhivkov Have Been Decorated?"]

[Text] Sofia—To identify himself in public in front of several thousand people and to ask the French president why he considered it advisable to decorate Zhivkov with the Legion of Honor requires either a certain degree of courage or great serenity of spirit on the part of a Bulgarian student. Mr Mitterrand's answer was diplomatic, but clear. It is traditonal; and this decoration awarded to his host is also "a sign that France recognizes Bulgaria as a state which exists and which it holds in esteem."

The entire meeting with students from the Kliment Okhridski University in Sofia on Thursday, 19 January, followed this pattern. No one, on either side, sought a provocation, but that did not prevent them from tackling sensitive issues. The applause and laughter underlined clearly that they understood that.

"Has your trip changed the opinions you had on democracy and human rights here?" Answer: "It is not my response to your question that is interesting, but the fact that you ask. (applause) ...This can only be answered by Bulgarians. It is up to you to change whatever appears imperfect to you. But you should keep in mind that there is no perfect regime; only it is necessary to be able to imagine, to communicate...."

"What do you think of elderly people who remain in their positions for a long time? (laughter) Answer: "It is good when people in their prime of life reach responsible positions. But if there are none... Take Deng Xiaoping for example; he's 84. Well, I find myself siding with those of mature years, that's how it is. But after all, the French people voted for me.... I come from a land blessed with vineyards, and you know that wine improves as it ages. Such is my ambition."

"Do you know that a portion of your remarks will be ignored by the Bulgarian press?" Answer: "I hardly know about the Bulgarian press, and not much more about the French for that matter. Journalists do what they want. In France in any case. (applause)"

What are your relations with the PCF [French Communist Party]?" Answer: "The union is a battle (laughter).... I put my combat fatigues on again, but we need a union nonetheless. The most important thing is that it is a union of popular forces; if not, they would be the victims of the privileged."

Of course, Mitterrand returned to the topic of a Europe, without frontiers and prohibitions, which would be based on a common culture. He even adopted the image, much beloved by Gorbachev, of a "common European home." Like the desire to become better acquainted, this subject would unflaggingly dominate all his speeches.

Facing the students again, Mitterrand revealed some of his philosophy of education. He was asked to comment on a quotation from Jaures: "Search for the ideal while understanding the real." "The ideal," he said, "must be kept deeply rooted within oneself; and one should never cease to follow it. Now, there can be some discussion of the best road to follow....But, one should never forget that the purpose of mankind is to reach the summit; one must take a road that will get there."

*Commercial Relations

WA29000015 Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Jan 89 p 7

[Unsigned article: "Franco-Bulgarian Trade: From Second to Seventeenth Place"]

[Text] According to Bulgarian foreign trade statistics, during the past 20 years, France has fallen from second to seventeenth place among Bulgaria's trading partners in the West. It now ranks far below the FRG, which sells six times as much in Bulgaria, and is behind Italy, Great Britain, Switzerland, and Austria.

The decline in French exports to Bulgaria during 1986-87 was balanced by a decline in imports. The balance of trade, therefore, shows a surplus for France, for whom Bulgaria remains an interesting partner, even though the volume is small compared to other East European countries. The year 1988 appears to have commenced with a slight revival of exchange.

Vienna CSCE Agreement Assessed Positively

AU2101160289 Sofia BTA in English
1507 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, January 21 (BTA political observer Nencho Khranov)—A new notion has entered the international political vocabulary—the Vienna agreement. An agreement for development and enrichment of the all-European process, an agreement for overcoming of the differences and contradictions on the basis of the balance of interests with priority of the all-human values.

The way during those almost 27 months of the Vienna follow-up meeting was not an easy one. The final document became a reality thanks to the common sense, a feeling for measures and willingness for success of all states which had signed in 1975 the Final Act of Helsinki. Many of the speakers, foreign ministers, who spoke at the end of the meeting were right to assess the final document as the peak in the fulfillment of the agreements of the all-European session. This is so because it reflects the new trends which determine the political picture in the world: the development of the East-West dialogue, the real steps which were made in the sphere of nuclear disarmament with the agreement for elimination of the medium- and shorter-range missiles, the restructuring and improvement of the socialist society in the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

The initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries for reduction of military juxtaposition and the unilateral steps made by the Soviet Union for reduction of arms and the armed forces served as an impetus for the Vienna agreement. This striving of Moscow found an expression in the address of Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, who announced the withdrawal of the tactical nuclear weapons from Central Europe, too.

Certain speakers in the Austria Centre and particularly some of the Western political commentators tried to push to the forefront certain parts of the final document, others remained in the tracks of the old stereotypes, making assessments of the behaviour of other sovereign states. This, as far as I think, has nothing to do with the essence of the Vienna agreement and with the trends of the reached agreements. Because the truths in the three baskets of the all-European process which ripened in Vienna would have to be considered in their mutual interdependence as preconditions for successful joint efforts for construction of an "all-European home," for advance in the sphere of security and in the economic and techno-scientific cooperation and in the humanitarian sphere.

Doubtlessly, the seeking of common solutions and compromises for the great aim can effect most directly the future negotiations for the conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals and on the second round of the negotiations for confidence and security, which got a green light with the Vienna document. But this holds true equally for all other stages—conferences, forums, symposia, etc., which are present in the next three years' calendar.

It is an honour and responsibility for Bulgaria to play host to the all-European ecological meeting this very fall. We are eagerly expecting the forum in Bonn on economic cooperation (unfortunately not everything within the interests of the European peoples was reached in Vienna in this sphere). The three-stage humanitarian conference which will end in Moscow would be an important event, too.

The Vienna agreement gave the all-European process a new and strong impetus. Standing on its firm foundations on its ten principles from Helsinki, developing new ideas and enriching their notions for the ways to security with fewer weapons and more confidence, the 35 states have real chances to attain more things and give their contribution to peace, disarmament and cooperation in the world at large.

Peace Meeting on Greek Border Reported

AU2201193589 Sofia BTA in English
1736 GMT 22 Jan 89

["Bulgaria—Greece: Peace and Good Neighbourliness"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—The first meeting between representatives of the Bulgarian National Peace Committee and the Greek Movements for Peace was held on the bridge of the Pirinska Bistritsa River between the border control-checkpoints Kulata and Pramahron [spelling of place name as received].

They exchanged New Year's greetings for peace and good neighbourliness at a meeting. The two documents express the wish and willingness of the Bulgarian and Greek people to turn the Balkans into a region of peace and good neighbourliness, a nuclear and chemical weapon-free zone.

This year, the two countries' society would actively promote the organization of a peace olympiade and the session of the World Peace Council in Athens, as well as the holding of the traditional meetings of youth and women in the name of good neighbourliness of the Bulgarian and Greek people.

Studies Show 68 Citizens Infected With AIDS

AU2601195089 Sofia BTA in English
1831 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 26 (BTA)—How is AIDS spreading in Bulgaria? This question is answered by the results of the latest research, made from December 1988 through January 1989. In a one-month period another 73,869 AIDS tests have been made, 820 of which on foreign citizens. Only two cases of virus-carriers have been

found and they were among the Bulgarian citizens. These are two women from the group of the so called "contact" group, who were infected in their contacts with seropositive partners.

That makes the total number of seropositive Bulgarian citizens 68. It was established as a result of the 1,500 thousand studies made in nearly two years.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 6-20 Jan

AU2001201089 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 6-20 January monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders attended a reception given by the Cuban ambassador in Sofia on 6 January to mark Cuba's National Day: Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 6 Jan 89)

The following leaders took part in a meeting of the Council of Ministers held in Sofia on 9 January to discuss implementing the 1989 State Plan: Georgi Atanasov and Stoyan Ovcharov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Jan 89)

The following leaders took part in the official welcoming ceremony in Sofia on 18 Jan for French President Francois Mitterrand: Georgi Atanasov, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Mladenov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Georgi Yordanov, and Todor Zhivkov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1100 GMT 18 Jan 89)

The following leaders participated in the official talks with the French delegation led by President Mitterrand that opened in Sofia on 18 January: Andrey Lukanov, Petur Mladenov, Stoyan Ovcharov, and Todor Zhivkov. (Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 18 Jan 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, gave an interview to LE MONDE journalists in Sofia on 16 January. (Sofia BTA in English 1431 GMT 16 Jan 89) In Sofia on 18 January Zhivkov had a morning meeting with Francois Mitterrand in Sofia, followed by a working luncheon that was attended by Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Jan 89) On the evening of 18 January Zhivkov gave an official dinner in President Mitterrand's honor and made a toast speech. (Sofia BTA in English 0832 GMT 19 Jan 89) On the afternoon of 19 January Zhivkov visited Plovdiv with President Mitterrand and his wife, (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 19 Jan 89) and gave a news conference with Mitterrand in Sofia on the evening of the same day. (Sofia BTA in English 0813 GMT 20 Jan 89) In Sofia on 20 January Zhivkov received Boris Paton, chairman of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. (Sofia BTA in English 1437 GMT 20 Jan 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited the Japanese Embassy in Sofia on 10 January to sign the book of condolences on Emperor Hirohito's death. (Sofia BTA in English 1344 GMT 10 Jan 89) In Sofia on 10 January Atanasov received U.S. Senators Mark Hatfield and James McClure. (Sofia BTA in English 2018 GMT 10 Jan 89)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, also met the two U.S. senators in Sofia during their visit on 9 and 10 January. (Sofia BTA in English 2018 GMT 10 Jan 89) At Sofia Airport on 10 January Balev welcomed a delegation led by Grisha Filipov back from Havana. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jan 89 p 2)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP CC, returned to Sofia on 10 January with a delegation that took part in the Cuban Revolution anniversary celebrations in Havana. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jan 89 p 2)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, returned to Sofia on 10 January from the Paris conference on banning chemical weapons. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Jan 89) On 16 January he left Sofia for Vienna to attend the final session of the CSCE, (Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 16 Jan 89) and returned to Sofia on 17 January. (Sofia BTA in English 0817 GMT 18 Jan 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of the economy and planning, also met with U.S. Senators Mark Hatfield and James McClure during their visit to Sofia on 9 and 10 January. (Sofia BTA in English 2018 GMT 10 Jan 89) In Sofia on 12 January, Ovcharov gave a news conference on the new Decree on Economic Activity. (Sofia BTA in English 1650 GMT 12 Jan 89) In Sofia on 19 January Ovcharov signed a memorandum with Hubert Curien, minister for research and technology of France. (Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 19 Jan 89)

Ivan Panev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, attended a session of the Sofia City People's Council in Sofia on 16 January. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Jan 89)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, departed from Sofia on 11 January with a trade union delegation for Madrid, to attend an extraordinary congress of the Unity of

Spanish Communists, (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 11 Jan 89) and returned from there to Sofia on 16 January. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 16 Jan 89)

Dimitur Stoyanov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, took part in a plenum of the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast BCP Committee held in Mikhaylovgrad on 13 January. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 13 Jan 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of the economy and planning, held a news conference with journalists in Sofia on 12 January on economic tasks and the new Decree on Economic Activity. (Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 13 Jan 89 p 1)

Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, returned to Sofia on 18 January with a delegation that visited Cambodia for the 10th anniversary celebrations of the republic's foundation. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 18 Jan 89)

Appearances for 20-27 Jan

AU2801150889 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 20-27 January monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders received in Sofia on 23 January a joint Lebanese party delegation: Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev. (Sofia BTA in English 1839 GMT 23 Jan 89)

The following leaders attended a meeting in Sofia on 25 January of the Foreign Policy Commission of the National Assembly: Milko Balev, the commission's chairman, and Petur Mladenov, who delivered a report on the Vienna CSCE. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Jan 89)

The following leaders participated in a national conference on railroad performance and safety in Sofia on 27 January: Grigor Stoichkov and Dimitur Stoyanov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Jan 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 26 January Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 26 Jan 89)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, received in Sofia on 24 Jan John Edwin Mroz, a U.S. scientist. (Sofia BTA in English 1636 GMT 24 Jan 89)

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia on 25 January Leonard Kraynov, the deputy chief editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 25 Jan 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Association, had a meeting in Sofia on 24 January with Tsend Ayuush, first deputy chairman of the Mongolian State Planning Commission. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 89)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, returned to Sofia on 22 January from a trade union meeting in Budapest. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Jan 89) In Sofia on 25 January he received a delegation from the General Workers Confederation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen led by its secretary general, Razhekh Salekh Nadzhi (spelling of name as published). (Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 26 Jan 89 p 1) In Sofia on 26 January he chaired a meeting on trade union cooperation with the municipal organs. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 26 Jan 89) Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, minister of foreign economic relations, and chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee, departed from Sofia on 22 January to attend a regular session of the CEMA Executive Committee (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 22 Jan 89); Lukanov returned to Sofia from Moscow on 26 January. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 26 Jan 89) Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, signed a cooperation memorandum in Sofia on 21 January with Boris Paton, chairman of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Jan 89)

Defense Council Announces Arms Reductions

LD2701161389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] By a decision of the National Defense Council and in harmony with the military defensive doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states, in 1989-90 organizational changes will be made to underline the defensive nature of and to reduce the number of people and armaments in the Czechoslovak People's Army.

In this way, the CSSR is gradually beginning to implement its initiative on creating a zone of trust, cooperation, and goodneighborly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states. It is thus aligning itself with the Soviet proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly last December.

The envisaged changes take into consideration the demands for high efficiency and economies. At the same time, conditions are being created for a significant increase in the contribution of the Army to implementing the tasks of the national economy, in accordance with the decision of the federal government, within the framework of the Army helping the economy and its substantial expansion, particularly in the building industry and in railway transport.

In this connection, the following measures were decided upon:

To reduce planned national defense spending in the years 1989-90 by 15 percent; to reduce the number of soldiers in combat units by 12,000 and to strengthen Army construction organizations by 20,000; to reduce the number of tank and air force regiments in the organizational structures of the ground forces; and to withdraw and gradually liquidate a total of 850 tanks, 165 armored cars, and 51 combat aircraft from military armaments.

Three general Army divisions [vsevojskove divize] are to be reorganized. Their arms and equipment are to be mothballed, leaving only the required number of people for maintenance and guard duty. The number of divisional and regimental tactical exercises is to be reduced by 50 percent, the number of live rounds fired [bojovych streleb] by 25-30 percent, and the number of reservists called up for exercises by 15,000 people.

The aforementioned measures are based on the principle of defensive sufficiency for the secure and reliable defense of the state. These measures are being carried out unilaterally as a firm contribution by the CSSR to increasing confidence and security in Europe.

If the NATO member states are willing to carry out similar measures in their armed forces, then we are prepared to continue the process.

Minister Vaclavik Details Cuts

LD2701230189 Prague CTK in English 2106 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Army General Milan Vaclavik stressed here today that Czechoslovakia's unilateral and extensive measures in the military sphere announced today concern three basic spheres—spendings on the Army, the strength of Armed Forces and armament.

In an interview for CTK he said that these three spheres are linked together, and that the cuts reach on average 10-15 per cent. The scrapped number of tanks and armoured vehicles corresponds to two and half tank divisions, the minister said.

Asked about the realization of measures concerning the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Czechoslovak territory, Milan Vaclavik said that four complete formations with equipment will be withdrawn in 1989 and the rest of one tank division will follow in 1990. In other units of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia, organizational measures will be realized to increase the defensive character of the forces.

On the reorganization of three Army divisions into military depots, Milan Vaclavik stated that it means reduction of the combat value of the Czechoslovak People's Army by three Army divisions at the time of peace. However, there exists the possibility to restore their combat ability by calling reservists in case of need within 10-15 days. This measure is a real step towards the creation of a zone of confidence along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states. Besides this, the minister stressed, other divisions will be reorganized in order [to] fulfil exclusively defensive tasks.

Dealing with the tasks for the current training year, Czechoslovak Defence Minister Milan Vaclavik stressed above all the necessity of achieving higher effectiveness of training and its organization.

"The reduction of the number of exercises and reservists is our contribution to the joint effort at the effective and economical use of social means", Milan Vaclavik said.

"Adopting these measures, we are fully aware that defence capability of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and our allies must be unconditionally ensured. As the present military and political situation in Europe cannot be neglected, our possibilities of reducing the Armed Forces are limited. These limits ensue also from the fact that Czechoslovakia is situated on the border with NATO states, the joint frontier is almost 250-kilometre long. We must also take into consideration NATO's reaction to our one-sided measures", Army General Milan Vaclavik pointed out.

He emphasized that the new measures require mobilization of all forces to retain security of the state and the socialist community.

Soviet Official Applauds Plan

LD3001100189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0900 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] The Soviet Union has expressed support for the decision of the Czechoslovak Council for Defense to reduce the number of troops and armaments of the Czechoslovak People's Army and to restrict the military budget. Viktor Komplektov, deputy Soviet minister of foreign affairs, stressed today that this decision fulfills in real terms the defense doctrine agreed upon by leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states. He also recalled that the joint effort of the Warsaw Pact to support, by practical unilateral steps, the implementation of the defensive military doctrine, has been proven by the decision of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries to reduce the number of troops and conventional armaments.

NATO Reaction Criticized

LD2901143789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Sunday foreign political commentary by Jiri Cebrovskiy]

[Text] Last Sunday [22 January] I said that even the best-formulated document will remain a dead letter if is kept closed in diplomats' files. I was thinking of the need to implement the ideas confirmed by the signatures of the 35 countries of Europe, the United States, and Canada to the document of the Vienna follow-up meeting, the need for concrete steps—the absence of which the old continent feels so clearly—as well as often the daring to be an example, to give proof of good will and the willingness to do something which will be beneficial to everyone.

Seven days later we can already speak of some practical results. After the Soviet Union announced that it will reduce the number of its Armed Forces and armaments, there was an agreement on the withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent from Poland. The schedule for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary is fast coming to fruition. The GDR and Czechoslavakia this week announced unilateral disarmament measures. There is no doubt that these are good decisions, for they destroy the idea that Europe must be an arsenal for eternity, filled to bursting with the most modern means of destruction. This strengthens the idea that security increases proportionately to how quickly the military stores are being emptied and arms are being scrapped.

The unilateral measures of socialist states also prepare the ground for political and diplomatic talks. In this case it is a matter of a successful prologue to the meeting of the Warsaw Pact and NATO which should begin in Vienna on 6 June. And last but not least, our measures mean lightening the load of considerable financial resources spent on preserving the military balance in Europe.

The disarmament initiatives of socialist countries create a new situation in Europe and prove the truth of the saying that he who gives quickly, gives twice as much. In our case, he who reacts and acts quickly brings an atmosphere of trust and security, which is so greatly desired, into European relations. It would thus seem to be natural that the unilateral steps by our countries would also be welcomed by the other side. It would also be logical to ask whether the NATO member states are preparing a positive reply in the form of analogous measures. Regrettably, there is neither hide nor hair of anything of the sort.

Instead, for example, West German Chancellor Kohl is rejecting the proposal of the Social Democrats to reduce the size of the Bundeswehr and to cancel the decision to extend military service by 3 months, and this despite the fact that the chairman of the military committee of NATO and the Bundeswehr, General Altenburg, considers it realistic to reduce the size of the West German Army by 13 percent, and that according to a public opinion poll almost 90 percent of the FRG population wants the Kohl cabinet to begin with disarmament proposals, including limitations on conventional and tactical nuclear weapons. Embarrassment, the shuffling of feet, and hesitant opinions are characteristic of today's thinking in NATO.

According to the REUTER news agency, although they officially welcomed our initiatives, nevertheless those in Brussels think that the measures taken by the socialist states are aimed above all else at influencing public opinion. NATO spokesman Robert Thetford on the other hand concludes that it is not necessary to follow the East European countries, because, he says, the Warsaw Pact continues to hold supremacy over the pact [NATO]. The new man in the entourage of the new U.S. President, his National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, reacted in a curious way. He announced on television that the motive for Gorbachev's peace offensive is his interest in stimulating unrest in the Western alliance, and that the United States thus has the right to look with suspicion at the Soviet Union and to have as its point of departure that after solving their internal problems, the Soviets will return to the old policy. Former U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci also added his bit. He wrote in THE NEW YORK TIMES that the cold war is not yet over, and that the developments in the Soviet Union to date do not justify far-reaching conclusions demanding a change of strategy.

From the opinions and attitudes of the people who decide, or until recently decided policy in the capitalist countries, we have the right to assume that the disarmament measures of socialist countries are not to their liking, and by using words about how we want to confuse

the public they wish to conceal the fact that they are the ones who hoodwink them. Even this has its own aims. Certain circles of power in the West do not favor changes in international relations and their perspectives. Radical disarmament is unthinkable for them. To be able to keep to such a negative position, it is not difficult for them to falsely accuse the socialist countries of supremacy one minute and the next minute try to smuggle into the Westerner's consciousness the thesis that because the extent and kind of development in the USSR is unknown, it is necessary to modernize nuclear weapons, build new supplies for modern nuclear weapons, increase the number of strategic bombers and modern jets, continue work on SDI, and maintain the military bases surrounding the Soviet Union.

To a certain extent it is depressing that NATO formally expresses itself in favor of a reduction in the number of conventional weapons but that when it receives a concrete offer we are witnesses to a fast backtracking. This is why Western countries today are already insisting that naval and air forces not be on the agenda of the March talks in Vienna, that the question of dual- designation weapons—that is, those that can be equipped with conventional and nuclear armaments—should not be discussed here. We are thus becoming, for the umpteenth time, participants in the stereotype game in which only one side intends to dictate the rules. We know from experience, however, that such an approach and attitude leads only to increasing the heat of political and diplomatic confrontation and the growth of mistrust and suspicion.

In any case, it is certain that if the West does not soon put forward its own convincing concept of how to continue the disarmament talks, it will be continually more difficult for the politicians of ruling parties to convince their own voters of the need to spend billions on defense. The one-time reality of a threat is thanks to Gorbachev's policy becoming more and more part of the land of legend. This statement was made by the West German newspaper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, and let us say at once, why not agree with it? This is because it is truly difficult and exhausting to deny obvious facts and to hide the truth. In the West some circles mind the fact that the socialist countries's steps for disarmament influence the public. But what is so bad about the people in London, Bonn, Paris, or Washington finding out that Moscow is reducing the number of soldiers by so much, that in Prague, Sofia, or Berlin they decided to liquidate so many tanks or armored carriers? It is absolutely certain that if the West undertook something similar, such steps would undoubtedly find a favorable reaction in our country. So far, however, such actions are missing.

Party Daily Praises Measure

LD2801081589 Prague CTK in English
0712 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 28 (CTK)—RUDE PRAVO today described Czechoslovakia's decision to cuts its troop strengths, announced yesterday, as "a proof of goodwill and example of the political decision that we consider disarmament in Europe the priority of our foreign policy."

In an editorial on the planned reduction of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces by 12,000 men, 850 tanks and other weaponry the paper said that Czechoslovakia has experienced two wars, both world ones and both ignited in Europe by the expansionism of world imperialism and the ambition to dictate to others.

"European history documents that it is wrong to believe that only those who are armed mean something in the concert of nations. The way to the realization that the security of each state is not safeguarded by military but political means was long. The realization is growing. The world public increasingly understands that the projects of human future will not be decided by military force and the quantity and quality of weapons but by the results of activity of human brain, talent and the ability to understand objective social laws".

The paper urged "decisions of one to be examples and an appeal to others. Disarmament is not just a technical, military matter but primarily a political one". This idea was voiced by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes last February when he said that political decision takes effect when it is combined with concrete proposals and measures, and this is the essence of the proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO made by Czechoslovakia.

RUDE PRAVO also supported the idea voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev that disarmament will not make progress until it is practically demonstrated that weapons can be scrapped.

"However, we do not succumb to illusions", RUDE PRAVO wrote and stressed that the Czechoslovak Peoples' Army will continue to defend the security of the country and the people. "We realize what a huge military force stands against us, west of the Bohemian Forest."

Czecholovakia is situated in the heart of Europe, on a territory over which wars rolled in history. "This is why we do not passively watch the heaping of arsenals of conventional weapons in Europe... why we take decisions, together with our allies in the Warsaw Treaty, which are our contribution... to disarmament", the paper wrote.

Slovak Daily Views Announcement

LD3001101889 Prague CTK in English
0855 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Bratislava Jan 30 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak decision to cut military spendings and reduce armed forces and armament is a concrete and prudent step, an

active contribution of Czechoslovakia to the deepening of confidence and increasing security in the centre of Europe and on an all-European scale as well, the Slovak daily PRAVDA said today.

Of some statements in the West minimizing the importance of the unilateral disarmament steps of the USSR and other socialist countries that the Warsaw Treaty will continue to be superior in the military sphere, the paper said these are a demagogic simplification. Considering the balance or imbalance is a very difficult task, the paper said, adding that not only quantity but also quality indices must be taken into account. Undoubtedly there exist asymmetries in Europe but they are not only to the benefit of the Warsaw Treaty, it said.

Armed forces must be given an exclusively defensive character and this is the goal pursued by the organizational changes in the Czechoslovak Army and the Soviet Army, as well as the armies of the other Warsaw Treaty member states, PRAVDA said.

CSSR Public Reacts Positively

LD2901204189 Prague CTK in English
1757 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 29 (CTK)—The statement on the reduction of the number of troops, armament and organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army, which was published on January 27, has aroused wide response among the Czechoslovak public.

Deputy Chairman of the Central Committee of the Czech National Front Rudolf Dusek said: "It is good that words are followed by deeds, and thereby actually by concrete implementation of the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. The question of security is thus solved by political and not military means because the future of mankind must be decided by the activity of human reason and talent."

Doctor Otakar Bartos, chief health officer for integration projects in the Soviet Union, stated: "The Czechoslovak initiative aimed at strengthening confidence in the military sphere is a result of the peace-making work of the Soviet Union and all socialist countries, which has brought easing of tensions in international relations. It documents that the road we have taken is correct. However, more patient work, persuasion and gaining of positive forces of the world for the benefit of calm and peace among nations will still be required."

Josefa Karnoldova, deputy headmistress of the 33rd Basic School in Plzen, said: "Cutting planned defence spendings by 15 percent and scrapping military equipment means hastening the aims of construction... I am convinced that the decision of the Council of State Defence will increase Czechoslovakia's authority on an international scale and strengthen its position in enhancing confidence and cooperation between countries having different social systems."

Alena Stancevova, deputy chairwoman of the Czech Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Red Cross Society, stated: "The Czechoslovak Red Cross, which is commemorating the 70th anniversary of its birth these days, has furthered in its activity the ideas of peaceful coexistence between nations of the whole world throughout its existence. Members of our organization are aware that suffering is caused by war and therefore, I believe, they welcome all steps leading to the easing of international tension."

Academic painter Miloslav Prochazka stated: "In 1945, I experienced the end of the Second World War in Prague. Windows shone brightly, the streets were full of light, the eyes rid of horrors of war... I wish that posterity finds after us only children's toys, sculptures, paintings and books speaking about a beautiful land, about hope for the future. If the NATO states are willing to take similar measures in their armed forces, there is a chance that this desire will come true."

Josef Kubista, chairman of the Mir United Cooperation Farm at Humburky near Novy Bydzov stated: "I regard Friday's [27 January] statement of the Council of State Defence as another step towards a situation in which people will no longer be haunted by the threat of a nuclear holocaust. In my opinion, such a step could be taken thanks to the successful Soviet-U.S. talks at summit level and to the relaxation of overall tension. I am glad that by reducing spendings on state defence we will gain resources and will invest them where our society needs it in restructuring."

Magdalena Trhanova, shift head at the transport office at the railway station in Sturovo, stated: "I appreciate that the statement comes at the right time, in a period of the easing of international tension and the restructuring of society. It is my sincere wish that railways always carry only goods designed for life and a peaceful work of people. This is helped by this concrete initiative of our state and its People's Army."

Ludek Bohmann, 1971 European championships gold medallist, at present coach of the national sprint team, stated: "Positive changes in international relations are immediately reflected in sport... the Czechoslovak initiative aimed at strengthening confidence in the military sphere is another step to stadiums, pools and sports halls remaining the only battlefields."

Daily Terms Pact's Forces Statement 'Unique'

LD3001093989 Prague CTK in English
0830 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 30 (CTK)—"The NATO members and the entire world public have now been given from our side an official document whose character makes it

unique and first ever of its kind," RUDE PRAVO wrote today on the Warsaw Treaty defence ministers' statement on the ratio of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO armed forces and armament in Europe.

The daily pointed out that the NATO states have not yet issued any official document on the strength of their armed forces and armament. It stressed, however, that it is now important to prepare a constructive atmosphere for the disarmament talks agreed on at the Vienna follow-up meeting and starting on March 6, and that both sides should provide documents presenting detailed stands on the ration of the two blocs' armed forces.

"It is possible to cut the Gordian knot of asymmetries. The Warsaw Treaty is offering a realistic and acceptable principle—not to build armament to the level of that side which has superiority in a certain kind of weapons but on the contrary to reduce it to the level of that side which is weaker in this or that type of weapons. Thus the balance would be strengthened but on a lower level, with a lower number of arms and soldiers. This itself is a marked progress on the road of disarmament," the paper said.

On the mechanism of control it said that socialist states stand for all-round control of disarmament measures including the right to control on the spot and stress that the check must not be rejected by anybody.

"The socialist states accepted unilateral disarmament measures already before the publication of the Warsaw Treaty statement. This has been done also by Czechoslovakia. We want to confirm, together with our allies, goodwill by a gesture which has a considerable political and military impact. Disarmament is the prior issue of our foreign policy," the daily said stressing, however, that disarmament cannot be reached on the principle of unilateral measures.

Fojtik Discusses Prague Protests in Prostejov

LD2501232389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] The South Moravian regional aktiv on topical questions of party ideological work was held in Prostejov today with the participation of Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Our correspondent Jan Kliment reports:

[Kliment] The hall of the People's House was filled with more than 500 participants from South Moravia and members of the leading aktiv of officials of the Prostejov District. The main aim of the working meeting was to contribute to the unification of views of the people to ensure that differences do not grow into misunderstandings, so that the party further strengthens its authority in society.

In this connection, Comrade Fojtik said:

[Begin Fojtik recording] Processes that give rise to attitudes of conflict and even doubts concerning the future of socialism are today occurring in our society, and not here alone. Opinions are being refined. Tomorrow will provide answers to the most pressing questions. However, we cannot wait with our arms folded; we must act, adopt measures, and make decisions.

Therefore, it is our duty to aim our efforts at providing answers to the questions posed by today.

The events that took place in the capital of our state, Prague, in the past week have caused ripples on the surface of opinion in our society. I have in mind the demonstrations that occurred on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the death of Jan Palach. We knew that the so-called independent organizations, the representatives of political opposition from Charter 77 and other groupings, were preparing these demonstrations. They were to be a follow-up to the provocative actions staged on the 20th anniversary of internationalist assistance and on the 70th anniversary of the rise of the Czechoslovak republic. I must admit, however, that the extent and the intensity of the demonstrations surprised us somewhat. They also signaled that in the near future we will not be able to ignore these forces. If up to now we considered their presence to be more or less negligible, today we must take it seriously into account and implement against them well thought-out tactics aimed at paralyzing their influence and totally frustrating their intentions, their efforts to destabilize the socialist system in our country.

The attempts of opposition elements to provoke a section of our population, particularly from the ranks of young people, to antisocialist demonstrations were thwarted by decisive measures involving the use of law and order forces of the national security corps and the people's militia. This was necessary.

However, it will be of much greater importance now to mobilize the Communists and all forces in society devoted to socialism so that we can continue in a peaceful and creative manner to implement the program of social restructuring and democratization of society drawn up at the seventh session of the party's Central Committee in December 1987.

Toward the end of last year, at the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Milos Jakes summarized the results of our efforts up to the present in realizing the conclusions of the seventh session. Comrade Ladislav Adamec, federal premier, gave a detailed analysis of the economic reform we had begun to realize. It was, as we know, a critical view. Perhaps it was in our power to do more, but no one can blame us for what I could call a certain timidity in our attitude toward restructuring and fundamental changes, the need for which is being felt by our party and society and which are

necessary, and on which we take an active and responsible stand. I emphasize this because the enemy propaganda, which has been paying particular attention to us recently, is trying to discredit the present party and state leadership, as if we were not interested in fundamental changes, as if we were crippled by the past, and as if we were frightened to go forward.

A quick glance at the past year makes it clear that we do not have to apologize to anyone in this area. We have adopted new laws on state enterprises and cooperative organizations. A number of enterprises have begun work according to them, and this process will be completed this year. The labor code has been amended. It was extensively discussed by our public, and it was also discussed at the all-union conference of the Revolutionary Trade Unions Movement. We realized important measures aimed at enhancing the authority of the national committees and at invigoration the whole National Front. It was an important step in developing socialist people's self- management. The fact that the self-management bodies of labor collectives are beginning to be active at the enterprise level leads to the process, which—as we are confident—will significantly influence the character of our democracy. It will make it more effective.

Important measures were also adopted in the central management sphere. I am not only referring to changes in the governments, even though they were significant. It is true they were also accompanied by circumstances which justifiably gave rise to criticism. I am thinking of the first resignation of the federal government, which then appeared again in a new but old form and made a government statement without taking responsibility for its previous actions. I am more concerned with the rational division of labor and the aims of this labor, a new style of management as demanded by the economic reform and the democratization of society.

It was not accidental that the 12th session noted that we are lagging considerably behind on this point. In spite of this, one must praise the fact that as of the new year we can count on new wholesale prices, that work has begun on drawing up the necessary laws and norms, on the basis of which it will be possible to change the style of management, which is still characterized by the directive approach and by managing production and society with the help of administrative levers. The delay in the changes in the central management sphere is, and in the near future will probably represent, one of the biggest risks in the successful implementation of the economic restructuring. The reduction of the administration apparatus in the ministries, irrespective of its radical nature, will not remove this risk. On the whole we must continue to direct the main thing: We are doing everything to considerably increase the efficiency of the national economy and to develop socialist democracy, so that people have a better life, so that they do not suffer the problems that we have in workplaces, in services on the market, in contacts with offices, in the life of citizens.

Furthermore, we should not forget that we began to realize restructuring under the complicated conditions of a deepening internal and external imbalance in our economy. This process has deeper roots, and I am convinced that during the course of preparations for the 18th party congress, a thorough serious analysis will be made which will uncover these roots and at the same time will apportion concrete responsibility for the shortcomings. Although it will be unpleasant for some, at least after the event, we cannot do without it. Here we cannot just consider individuals, for trust in the party and its leadership is at stake. The important thing is that we see things truthfully and act according to this in the future. [end recording]

[Kliment] In another part of the South Moravian regional aktiv on current questions of ideological work concerning the 10th and 12th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prostejov, Comrade Jan Fojtik answered a number of written, anonymous, and often critical questions from those present. Although they covered extensive ground, they were characterized by an effort to fulfill the goals of economic restructuring and the democratization of our society in the most successful way possible. We have entered the period of preparations for the 18th congress, and the ideological front wishes to make a marked contribution both to its preparation and course and to the further development of socialism in our country, to the strengthening of its spiritual, material, and ideological values.

6 'Civil Rights Campaigners' Freed; 3 Still Held

LD2701172189 Hamburg DPA in German 1415 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Frankfurt/Prague (DPA)—Six of the Czechoslovak civil rights campaigners arrested 16 January were again set free in the early hours of Thursday [26 January]. However, the preliminary investigations against them are being continued, the International Society for Human Rights (IGFM) reported Friday in Frankfurt.

According to the human rights organization's information, those released were the two "Charter 77" spokespeople Dana Nemcova and Alexander Vondra, as well as civil rights campaigners Dana Sternova, David Nemec, Stanislav Penc, and Petr Placak. Jana Petrova, Ota Veverka, and Vaclav Havel are still in custody.

The cases against Pavel Dudr and Jaromir Nemec are due to be tried Monday before the Kromeriz District Court. Both are accused of "breaching the peace." [passage omitted]

They face prison sentences of 1-5 years.

Adamec Responds to Cardinal Tomasek Letter

LD2801000989 Prague CTK in English 2001 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 27 (CTK)—On January 20, 1989, Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek sent a letter to Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec welcoming the adoption

of the conclusions at the Vienna follow-up meeting. He expressed hope that these conclusions will have positive significance also for believers.

In another part of the letter, Cardinal Tomasek spoke in support of the anti-socialist unlawful demonstrations in Prague condemning the actions of security forces and openly indicating the possibility of confrontation.

The cardinal's letter was immediately abused by Western mass media of communication for attacks against Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec responded to Cardinal Tomasek in his letter of January 24.

The Czechoslovak premier welcomed Cardinal Tomasek's agreement to the Vienna follow-up meeting conclusions and said he agrees with the cardinal's appreciation of the results for Czechoslovakia and the whole continent.

"The implementation of the adopted commitments in any sphere—in the relation of the state to the rights of churches and believers as well—must be understood as a bilateral affair", Ladislav Adamec said. "But the need for the unity of religious liberties and civic responsibility, the harmony of rights and duties towards the society applies also to this case. The government suports full development of justified religious demands of believers and churches guaranteed by the Constitution and the law, as was declared in the Czechoslovak Government program statement".

"Any destructive attitudes, attempts to disrupt the state power hamper and threaten the process of restructuring. We avow responsibility for the strengthening of the state, for the justly administered and well-managed society of equal citizens. We are glad that the government intentions have been accepted with hopes and understanding by the Czechoslovak citizens, including believers, church and religious organizations' officials. We appreciate the stands of those clergymen, who actively contribute to the implementation of the national front policy aimed at the benefit and happiness of the Czechoslovak people", Ladislav Adamec wrote in his letter.

"I have read very carefully your opinion on the recent breach of Czechoslovak laws and disturbance of the normal living conditions of Prague's inhabitants...and I must voice principal disapproval of attempts to create relations with the bodies of our socialist state on the basis of ultimata. Such an approach does not contribute to mutual understanding and search for mutual acceptable solutions," Ladislav Adamec wrote in his letter to Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek.

"We are sincere advocates of a constructive dialogue between citizens and the government...however, the responsible bodies had to respond to the purposeful policy of confrontation, actions obstructing the operation of transport and shops and threatening normal social life in the centre of Prague with measures to restore order," Ladislav Adamec said.

He further stated: "Your stand creates an impression that you have not been well informed about the background and sense of the events in the Wenceslas Square. In my opinion, an objective, unbiased view free of emotions and one-sided calculations and taken from the positions of responsibility for the further development of our country would better correspond with the real interests of believers, clergymen and the Catholic Church. Such a stand would be in harmony also with the recently reiterated wish of the Vatican for achieving positive relations between the state and the church through a correct dialogue with the Czechoslovak authorities in the spirit of good will.

"The federal government is interested in as constructive relations with the Catholic Church and its ordinaries as possible, in relations that would strengthen mutual confidence and cooperation," the premier said.

The Czechoslovak premier's answer was handed over to Cardinal Tomasek by Deputy Minister-Director of the Czechoslovak Government Secretariat for Ecclesiastical Affairs Vladimir Janku on January 25. He stated on this occasion that the premier does not consider it correct that Western mass media had been informed of the cardinal's letter earlier, without the cardinal waiting for an answer.

Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek stated that he had not given his letter to Western mass media. He spoke in favour of a constructive dialogue.

Immediately after he had received the premier's answer on January 25, the cardinal delivered another letter to the premier dated January 21, whose contents, style and form were different from the first letter. When receiving the answer to his first letter, Cardinal Tomasek did not mention the second letter but it was nevertheless immediately widely published and abused in the propaganda campaign, particularly by Radio Free Europe.

It is obvious that the personality of Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek is being abused in attempts to manipulate the public opinion. It is regrettable that the cardinal's own participation in the affair plays into the hands of these attempts.

CPCZ's Zavadil Addresses Czech Union Council

AU2301182089 Prague PRACE in Czech 20 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

["(pa)"-signed report: "We Will Support Restructuring by Our Working Activities"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The sixth plenary session of the Czech Trade Union Council (COR) ended in Prague yesterday [19 January], after dealing with ways to

enhance the working people's participation in management and to develop their initiative in providing for the tasks of the 1989 plan for socioeconomic development and collective contracts. It also dealt with the 1989 budget of the COR and of regional all-trade union agencies, and with other issues. The session was attended by Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council (URO); by Miroslav Toman, first Czech SR deputy premier and chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development; and by other guests.

The 20 comrades who spoke during the discussion expressed their views not only on the documents under discussion, but also on other issues of economic, political, and social life. [passage omitted]

The trade unionists from Prague, from the central Bohemian region, and elsewhere condemned the antisocialist acts that took place a few days ago in our capital. The work collectives definitely do not approve of these. The groups that are organizing these provocations are above all misusing our young people. It is thus all the more necessary to also devote attention to political-educational work in the trade union movement.

URO Chairman Miroslav Zavadil also spoke during the discussion. [passage omitted] He devoted great attention to the democratization process in social life, as part and parcel of restructuring. People should have both the opportunity and the prerequisites to frankly express their views, and thus become literally the creators of our policy. This democratic spirit was proven, for instance, in the public discussion on the drafts of certain basic documents. The talks during the national all-trade union conference were also most frank. However, this experience must be fully utilized in the practical life of our whole movement—in primary organizations, where the specific results largely depend on activity. In the discussions we may hear different, even opposing views. We must be patient with and tolerant of diverging views. Not all that we dislike is antisocial. However, it is necessary to speak out against those whose behavior and activity contradict the interests of socialism and its advancement. In this context the URO chairman condemned the deportment of irresponsible elements who are abusing the democratization process to disrupt peace and order. These groups do not express the sentiments of the workers class and working people. The URO chairman recalled the statement made by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz in Vienna, where he presented a slanted picture of the measures taken by Czechoslovak agencies against the organizers of provocative events in Prague, while modestly keeping silent about what is currently occurring in the south of his own country, in Miami. [passage omitted]

New Central Council of Cooperatives Head Chosen

AU2001180789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Broader Scope for the Cooperative Movement"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The Committee of the Central Council of Cooperatives [URD] convened for its session in Jiloviste near Prague on Wednesday [18 January]. The report presented by the URD Presidium stated that the cooperative movement accounts for merely 10 percent of the national income created, which is an alarming fact. That is why it is necessary to create broader scope for an upsurge in the cooperative movement and to grant greater economic possibilities and more emphatic political support to cooperative entrepreneurship. [passage omitted]

The committee session granted the request of URD Chairman Frantisek Tesar to release him of his function in connection with his retirement, and elected a new chairman: Vladislav Treska.

Daily Calls on West To Reduce Armaments
AU2801095389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jan 89 p 2

["W.M." article: "Steps of Goodwill—and Food for Thought"]

[Text] When in March the delegations of 23 states, according to the mandate of the Vienna meeting, convene to negotiate measures to reduce conventional armed forces, such measures will already have been decided upon, in the region where the concentration of military potentials is highest, at the dividing line of the military blocs in the center of Europe—however, unilaterally. First, only on the side of the Warsaw Pact. These steps of good will should be met with steps of good will from the other side. At least this is the unequivocal tenor of the strong response with which the USSR's and GDR's announcement to reduce troops and armaments have met in the international public.

At his meeting with the Swedish prime minister in Berlin, Erich Honecker stressed that we fully support the USSR's new peace initiatives, which Mikhail Gorbachev announced to the United Nations and that the unilateral withdrawal of Soviet Armed Forces from GDR territory takes place in close agreement between the two governments.

The Soviet soldiers, who will now return to their native country, and the tanks and other weapons they will take back with them, will not be replaced by additional soldiers and armaments of our National People's Army. On the contrary: At the same time, the GDR, following a decision of its National Defense Council, is making yet a further constructive contribution to the disarmament process, which has to be carried out without pausing. It shows by deeds its goodwill and its readiness to disarm.

The GDR is reducing its National People's Army unilaterally by 10,000 men until the end of 1990. During this period it will dissolve 6 tank regiments and 1 aircraft squadron, convert 600 tanks for purposes of the national economy or scrap them, and take 50 fighter aircraft out of commission. At the same time it will reduce its defense spending by 10 percent. It will reshape the structure of the National People's Army in such a way that it will have a still more strictly defensive character.

These measures are courageous and characterized by optimism, considering the fact that on the other side there are strong forces, which try to prevent further agreements on balanced disarmament from being concluded. However, we expect that our advance concessions so strongly will mobilize the forces of peace, of realism and reason, that the disarmament process, which has now been launched, will receive strong impulses. We also expect that the intrigues of those who respond to the initiatives of socialism for disarmament with new projects of the arms race will be frustrated.

With our measures we are showing the world that we are taking the defensive character of our military doctrine seriously. Its supreme concern lies in the reliable prevention of any war. It is directed at strictly preserving the military balance of both sides at an increasingly lower level until it reaches non-aggression capability. By making the defensive character—which has always been characteristic of our Armed Forces—even more pronounced, in correspondence with this doctrine, the protection of socialist achievements will of course continue to be fully guaranteed. Starting on the principle of reasonable adequacy, everything will be done to guarantee the national defense of the GDR in the interest of its citizens at any given time. In doing so we bear in mind our concrete conditions, the present requirements, and our duties within the alliance of the Warsaw Pact states. In this sense, our people's soldiers will have an even higher responsibility in complying with their class assignment that is serving peace.

According to Erich Honecker, our socialist state acts in correspondence with its historical responsibility and its humanistic assignment to do everything in order to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil, but only peace. This is in the vital interest of our people, but also in the interest of the other peoples on our continent. We orient ourselves on the principle of creating peace with fewer weapons, fewer soldiers, and less money.

The new GDR step is the latest link in a whole chain of constructive and stimulating contributions to advance the disarmament process. It is proof of sincerity and predictability of our peaceful policy and it is the expression of reason, sense of proportion, and willingness to compromise. It is proof of the right understanding of the GDR's important contribution toward implementing socialism's peace program, even though the international public describes it as an interesting incentive for other European states. It is above all NATO which is expected to make its own substantial contribution to the reduction of its attack potential. After all, it is easily understood that in the long run, disarmament can be achieved only on the basis of mutuality.

This holds particularly true for the FRG as the strongest military power in Western Europe. "Modernizing" short-range missiles, concepts of deterrence, and new expensive military aircraft are outmoded today. The time is ripe for acting according to the statement, which is contained in the joint communique issued at Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987, that progress in nuclear disarmament most urgently requires conventional disarmament with the objective of greater security and stability in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Time is also ripe for acting according to the obligation that was accepted at the same time, that the GDR and FRG, as a result of the responsibility derived from the joint history, have to make special efforts for peaceful coexistence in Europe.

This is what matters now, particularly in this year, which will see the 75th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I and the 50th of World War II. In a time in which the chances for making an important step forward to protect mankind from world war III are better than ever before, actions are needed that lead to early agreements on drastic reductions of conventional armed forces, to nonattack capability on both sides, and to greater security for all.

Letter to Honecker Questions Need for Wall

AU2901161289 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 28 Jan 89 p 26

[Text of an open letter from members of the Initiative "Rejection of the Practice and Principle of Delimitation" to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council: "Text of Open Letter to Honecker; the Wall Is Inwardly Effective"]

[Text] "Esteemed chairman of the State Council":

"We cannot fail to comment on your statement on the Berlin Wall at the meeting of the Thomas Muentzer Committee on 19 January 1989. We do not fail to see that there were reasons for building the wall in 1961. We do not doubt that you are sticking to the policy of internal and external delimitation because you are convinced that this is in the well-interpreted interest of the GDR's population.

"However, we, as citizens of this country, are of a different opinion. By our initiative 'Rejection of the Practice and Principle of Delimitation,' we advocate out of Christian responsibility, that this policy should be overcome because we know that many people of our country suffer from it. We have grown up in the GDR and know what we are talking about. We have seen the profound damage done to our society by internal and external delimitation and, in dismay, bore testimony to them in the Ecumenical Assembly of the GDR Churches. The responses of general agreement which we encountered confirms that our concern is justified.

"Everybody knows that the wall is not directed against robbers from the outside but at those on the inside. Our country needs stability based on justice, and not stability based on fear, this has to be ensured by internal and external delimitation. Our country needs real stability, which can only be founded on a basic social consensus. So that it can show and grow, we, together with the Ecumenical Assembly, demand that a free, sincere, and public dialogue of all groups and forces in our society be permitted and opened up (glasnost). This would be the first and most important step to removing the reasons for maintaining the wall that are still effective today. Together with Eduard Shevardnadze (CSCE foreign ministers' meeting in Vienna), we think it is urgently necessary to examine them. The reasons are primarily internal not external ones. It is up to you to take and permit measures to overcome them. We, and our children, do not want to wait another 50 years."

National Front Passes Appeal on Elections

LD2601170689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1407 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 40 years of the GDR prove that the working class allied with the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia, together with all working people, is in a position to steer a modern industrial state and to convert science and technology into progress for all. This is stated in the appeal for the local elections on 7 May which was passed today by the National Council of the GDR National Front. In the GDR there is full employment, not mass unemployment, no Rackmanism [exorbitant rent] no homelessness, no new poverty, but social security for all, no privilege of education, no fear of the future, but free health care, stable prices for basic necessities, services, and fares. "Through socialism a social order with a human face arose here," it goes on to say. "The GDR is among the strongest industrial countries in the world. Its citizens have a high standard of living. It remains our goal to raise it further."

It is pointed out in the appeal that in the last 5-year electoral period 1,068,375 new residences and thus improved living conditions for 3.2 million citizens arose. Since 1971 a total of over 3 million new residences and better living conditions have come about for more than half of the population. Over M320 bllion have been invested for this. Since 1971 M61 billion have been made available for the state budget for keeping rents low.

It says in the electoral appeal that the GDR's policy is directed toward the continued dynamic development of the country on the tried and tested course of the unity of economic and social policy, toward the further flourishing of cities and communities to the advantage of all, toward a strong socialism in alliance with the states of the socialist community, toward anti-imperialist solidarity and toward disarmament, peace, and cooperation with all states of the world.

Pointing to the GDR's contribution to the struggle for peace over the past 5 years it is stressed: "The resolution of the National Defense Council presented by Erich Honecker on 23 January to reduce the NVA [National People's Army] by 10,000 men, to reduce defense expenditures by 10 percent, and to change the structure of the NVA so it gains an even more strictly defensive nature is an important contribution to peace. We support disarmament by deeds." It says further, "Now it is up to the NATO states, not least the FRG. In all this we do not overlook the fact that there are imperialist forces at work who want to bring the disarmament process to a dead halt. They are compensating for missiles now being destroyed and modernizing other nuclear and conventional weapons."

It is strongly stressed: "The GDR is putting all its political, economic, moral, and even military might on the scales so that never again does war but only peace emanate from German soil. A world without weapons of mass destruction and war is and remains our aim."

It is underlined in the electoral appeal that all citizens, regardless of their social origins, ideology, or religion, are needed and all have equal opportunities to help shape society and their own lives. Here in socialism there is room for everone. "Socialist democracy means having a real say in the state, economy, and society. It aims for measurable results to everyone's advantage."

The elections will be held according to tried and trusted principles, at the same time however there are further steps toward a broader development of socialist democracy. It is pointed out that on the basis of the electoral law a third more candidates than candidacies will be put up. From now on, apart from the parties and mass organizations represented in the democratic bloc, other organizations and associations will be able to propose active members as candidates. The examination of candidates in work collectives is to be extended to 4 weeks for thoroughness. The constituencies will be so laid down that in them there will usually be no more than 8 to 10 candidates up for electon. Putting up the candidates and the confirmation of their order on the election proposal will take place publically in every constituency—like the counting of the votes. "Thus the selection of future popular representatives in electoral assemblies will be placed on a broader democratic basis still," it says in electoral appeal. "We know of no haggling for candidacies and no bribery by capitalist concerns as there are none.

"How they are informed specifically on the policy goals, what they know about local tasks, and how their proposals and ideas are taken up and answered will continue to be decisive for the cooperation of all citizens. Thus everyone who bears political responsibility in our society is obliged to listen attentively to what moves citizens and what they ask them to consider."

German Communist Party Election Results Noted

LD2301202089 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1443 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Duesseldorf (ADN)—The new DKP party executive, elected at the ninth party congress, held its first constituent session in Duesseldorf over the weekend. The communique published by the press office of the DKP party executive says:

Newly re-elected DKP Chairman Herbert Mies gave an introductory talk in which he submitted for discussion ideas for evaluating the current results of the ninth party congress and the future role and working method of the party executive as well as proposals for the composition of his Presidium and Secretariat. Afterward, 38 comrades spoke.

As a result of the subsequent personnel debate, the DKP party executive elected unanimously, with one abstention, the following comrades to the Presidium: Herbert Mies, Ellen Weber, Kurt Bachmann, Irmgard Bobrzik, Rainer Eckert, Kurt Fritsch, Willi Gerns, Heinz Jung, Beate Landefeld, Ingeborg Noedinger, Rolf Primer, Birgit Radow, Helga Rosenberg, Rika Schorler, Karl Heinz Schroeder, Conrad Schuhler, Gisela Sprenger-Schoch, Ingrid Schuster, Heinz Stehr, Werner Stuermann.

The following were elected to the Secretariat: Herbert Mies, Ellen Weber (democratic alliance policy), Beate Landefeld (Marxist theory and education) Ingeborg Noedinger (women's policy), Fritze Noll (public relations work and media), Rolf Priemer (organizational and personnel policy), Helga Rosenberg (national, regional, and local government policy), Karl Heinz Schroeder (international relations), Heinz Stehr (economic, social, and technology policy, enterprises and trade unions).

GDR-Iranian Economic Commission Holds Meeting

Discussion Topics Outlined

LD2501202789 Tehran IRNA in English 1708 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 25, IRNA—The third joint economic commission of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was held in East Berlin Tuesday.

Industry Minister Gholam Reza Shafe'i who is heading the Iranian delegation to the session, referred to the first 5-Year Development Plan, and said Iran's export of crude and non-oil products to GDR in return for technology and basic raw materials "is a good ground for expansion of economic cooperaton."

GDR Chemical Industry Minister Guenther Wyschofsky responded with his country's readiness for multilateral ties with Iran.

"Besides cooperation in the petrochemical sector and supply of construction materials, GDR is willing to buy oil and other Iranian goods," he added.

Among topics to figure in at the meeting were the Iraqi regime's procrastinations in the peace talks which is delaying implementation of U.N. Resolution 598.

The Iranian minister arrived in East Berlin last Saturday, and is expected to sign a letter of understanding at the end of the third joint economic session.

Technological Ties Viewed

AU2701125689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [25 January], Hans-Joachim Lauck, minister of Construction of Heavy Machinery and Equipment, and Gholam Reza Shafe'i,

industries minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, held talks on extending and deepening cooperation between GDR combines of construction of heavy machinery and equipment and industrial partners from Iran. The two officials praised the results of cooperation in the fields of cement plants, shipyard cranes, and diesel engines, among other things.

Felix Meier, minister of Electrical Engineering and Electronics, also received the guest for talks. The two sides paid tribute to the high level of commercial and scientific-technological cooperation in the field of electrical engineering. They discussed further measures for fulfilling the concluded agreement on cooperation in the field of energy transmission and energy distribution.

Fischer Meets Industries Minister

LD2701103989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0930 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer received Iranian Industries Minister Gholam Reza Shafe'i, chairman of the Iranian side of the GDR-Iran Joint Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation, for a talk on Friday.

The two sides welcomed the positive changes taking place in international relations. It is important to make irreversible the switch from confrontation to detente that has begun.

Minister Oskar Fischer explained the peace program of the socialist states, aimed at the creation of a nuclear-free world. With its decision to reduce, unilaterally and independently of negotiations, the troop strength and armaments of the National People's Army, the GDR is making a further constructive contribution to the process of disarmament.

The two ministers praised the progress made in the settlement of regional conflicts in the world. Oskar Fischer underlined that in the conflict between Iran and Iraq it is now a matter of continuing without interruption the process of negotiations to implement UN Security Council Resolution 598.

Gholam Reza Shafe'i expressed Iran's regard for the GDR'S peace policy and the disarmament steps it has announced. He outlined in detail his country's attitude to the situation in the Near and Middle East and the negotiations with Iraq.

The two sides praised the good state of bilateral relations achieved and concurred in supporting their further deepening.

Goetting Confers With Shafe'i

LD2701224189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1515 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and vice president of the People's Chamber, and Iranian Industry Minister Gholam Reza Shafe'i have noted the successful development of GDR-Iran bilateral relations. Shafe'i is the chairman of the Iranian side of the Joint Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation and is in the GDR for its third meeting. During a meeting in Berlin on Friday, the two men noted with satisfaction the positive changes taking place in international relations. This trend must be strengthened and protected against the attacks of all those who want to adhere to the policy of strength.

Goetting explained the peace program of the socialist states. It is aimed at not allowing any pause in disarmament after the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles and at creating a world without nuclear weapons by the year 2000. He outlined the latest GDR announcements on the reduction of military forces and of military expenditure. The two officials praised the positive effects resulting from the settlement of regional conflicts for an improvement in the international situation.

Referring to the Iraq-Iran conflict, Goetting underlined that the continuation of the process of negotiations for implementing UN Security Council Resolution 598 had great importance in the interests of a joint settlement of contentious issues. Shafe'i praised the GDR's policy aimed at peace, disarmament, and detente. He explained his country's stance on the conflict and the negotiations with Iraq.

Shafe'i Meets Mittag, Kleiber

LD2801195589 Tehran IRNA in English 1812 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Tehran, Jan. 28 IRNA—Industries Minister Gholam Reza Shafe'i met the vice-president of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) Guenther Mittag in East Berlin Saturday and discussed mutual ties as well as regional and international issues.

In the meeting, Mittag announced his country's preparedness to cooperate with the Islamic Republic in its post-war reconstruction, and to purchase oil and non-oil goods from Iran.

Meanwhile, Shafe'i in his meeting with GDR's deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Guenter Kleiber, yesterday outlined Baghdad's procrastination in the peace talks which he said "not only endangers regional peace but that of the whole world. [quotation marks as received]

He called on international bodies and progressive countries to take measures for full enforcement of UN Security Council Resolution 598.

The Iranian minister also referred to the Iraqi regime's deployment of chemical weapons and regretted that Baghdad was let go free by the Paris conference on chemical weapons (Jan 7-11), which failed to make even a passing mention of the regime's inhuman crimes.

The East German official responded that the existing problems can be settled only through 'good-will' and implementation of Resolution 598.

Kleiber laying weight on peace in the region said it is necessary that "foreign fleets pull out from Persian Gulf region."

Adverting to his country's full understanding with Iran he stated that mutual relations are "very good" and the economic commission furthers cordial ties between the two sides.

Shafe'i who is in Berlin since last Saturday to attend the 3rd Iran-GDR economic commission, has inked letters of last economic, technical and scientific understanding with East German officials. [sentence as received]

Commission Session Ends

LD2701225789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1650 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 3d session of the GDR-Iran Joint Commission for Economic and Technological Cooperation concluded successfully Friday in Berlin. The chairmen of the joint commission, GDR Chemical Industry Minister Dr Guenther Wyscchofsky, and Iranian Industry Minister Gholam Reza Shafe'i, signed an agreed statement on the results of the deliberations. The statement includes measures on the further development of economic-technological cooperation, particularly in selected fields of industrial cooperation.

Wyschofsky and Shafe'i assessed the course of the session as constructive and useful. Extensive work has been done with the aim of further expanding bilateral relations, particularly in the economic sphere, to mutual benefit.

Kleiber Holds Talks With Syrian Counterpart

LD2601231289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1749 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—First GDR Vice Premier Guenther Kleiber, SED Central Committee Politburo member, and Syrian Vice Premier Dr Salim Yasin, stressed the necessity for a comprehensive, just, and lasting solution to the conflict in the Middle East. Kleiber explained extensively the most recent disarmament initiative set out by Erich Honecker. With the announcement to reduce the National People's Army unilaterally by 10,000 men, the GDR was continuing to show itself as an active co-designer of the peace offensive of the socialist countries. This initiative was also a signal for other states to make their own conribution to disarmament and an improvement in international relations. Dr Yasin expressed high esteem for this step as a renewed active conribution by the GDR toward peace.

The partners in the talks praised the high status of bilateral relations. The change being registered toward an improvement in the international situation and the stable development of both states are creating good preconditions for the continuation of cooperation which is advantageous to both sides. They affirmed the resolution to further deepen the close contacts in the interest of peace and to the advantage of their peoples.

Technical Cooperation Discussed With Poland

AU1901150189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [16 January] in Berlin Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of Science and Technology, received Zbigniew Grabowski, minister and head of the Office of Advancement and Application of Science and Technology of the PPR.

The interlocutors discussed possibilities of even closer cooperation in the accelerated development and effective application of key technologies, in particular of microelectronics. They stressed the great responsibility of the scientists, technicians, and engineers of their countries in solving the joint tasks to strengthen the capacity of the two national economies with research and development results that reach international standards.

During the further course of the meeting, experiences in management and planning of science and technology were exchanged.

During his stay, Zbigniew Grabowski will visit the VEB Electronic Component parts combine, TELTOW.

Pozsgay on Nagy Reburial, Political Reassessment

LD2801202189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the MSZMP Central Committee history subcommittee, on the "168 Hours" program, by correspondents Jozsef Orosz and Peter Laszlo; date, place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] It was announced following the government session on Thursday [26 January] that Imre Nagy and his companions can be reburied by their relatives. The issue here is merely the permission for this act of reverence, but it is not the rehabilitation of the views and activity of Imre Nagy.

[Begin recording] [Pozsgay] The government can do nothing other than to follow, so to speak, the law of humanitarianism so as to satisfy the requirements of mercy. This, today, as yet, does not mean political rehabilitation. As to whether there will be such a rehabilitation, this must not be prophesied. In 1953, Imre Nagy outlined the so-called new government program, in which it was already possible to discover not only the requirement of a transformation of the economic construction and economic system of institutions, and also the changing of political institutions; it was he who put on the agenda the renewal of the People's Front. In this respect every document uncovered so far proves that in the political minicrisis of 1954-55, there was a crisis of power, and that in this crisis it was Imre Nagy who was right, whose behavior was correct; it was consistent with what he had undertaken. This period, for him, is considered to have been a positive one.

[Correspondent] How do you assess the role and activity of Imre Nagy in 1956?

[Pozsgay] It is this which is still surrounded by controversy. Domestic and external interrelations may still surface which might make this assessment, shall I say, more nuanced—for example, the circumstances themselves under which this committee, on the basis of the present research, views the events of 1956 as a popular uprising [nepfelkeles], an uprising against an oligarchic form of power, which was also humiliating the nation.

[Laszlo] Still, even the change in the words used demonstrates that the political power is thinking very differently about 1956. In the past it was described as counterrevolution, when the usual phrase was the 1956 events. Now you are already speaking about popular uprising. What is the reason for this rapid change of assessment, within barely a year, and can this assessment be considered final?

[Pozsgay] It is impossible to say final, particularly in a historical context, not even with hindsight. If we respect facts, then we have to pay respect in advance to facts which may possibly be uncovered only in the future. However, I would like to add that with this formula, with this historical assessment, the political power, historical science, and public opinion are very much approaching each other. This assessment reflects the sentiment shared by public opinion as well as by a large proportion of the party membership. The round judgment which with one single phrase qualified the events of 1956 as a counterrevolution is, it is clear from the research to date, unable to stand up.

[Correspondent] In connection with this, is the reranking of the causes of 1956 changing, or are these causes being reassessed? In December 1956, the Rakosi-Gero clique was blamed primarily, and later at the 7th MSZMP Congress, Imre Nagy's revisionism was described as the main cause of 23d October. (?The last two)—international imperialism and internal enemies—remained unchanged. So, are these causes being reassessed?

[Pozsgay] Obviously, this operation must be carried out, because if I have said that facts and new data have made this committee reach such conclusions, then it must also be said that the sources and tools qualifying this have also become competent. Otherwise, they were simply overly hasty; they worded those conclusions in a restricted manner, according to the data and knowledge available at the time.

However, in this case it is necessary to go back not to 1956, but to the socialist model undertaken, or forced, in 1948-49, which in its entirety proved to be the wrong path, because it led here, to this crisis, whose entire inoperability has now been demonstrated.

[Correspondent] The multiparty system was abolished in 1948 and 1949. A one-party system took shape, which many people now say is a cul-de-sac of socialism.

[Pozsgay] Reality has not tolerated this. It can be seen that this reality has emerged incessantly via a series of crises since 1951, since the period of the so-called stepped-up 5-year plan, when an enormous price reform—a price increase—was slapped onto the country. From that moment, it was an incessant series of crises, which had low points such as the end of 1952 to the beginning of 1953, the end of 1954 to the beginning of 1955 with the narrow-mindedness and sectarianism of the March party resolution. There were blunders such as the central leadership session of July 1956, which still was unable to cope with the government crisis and with the relations of the rule of personality, and which directly induced the events of October 1956. Thus, what I have related so far perhaps gives a sense of what we have rethought, and begun to rethink, in this entire process. We have not yet completed the international examination of this, and we still must examine the economic interconnections, in order for a political program to come out of it in the end.

[Correspondent] I believe that you are examining this issue at an extremely exciting historical moment, as Hungary is now attempting to do something so far unique—making the transition from a one-party system to a multiparty system. At least it is trying to make such a transition. How can the party learn from this history in reverse, when it changed over from a multiparty system to a one-party system?

[Pozsgay] Well, the lesson is here: the lack of success, or at least the many kinds of failure and crises. From the moment the existence of the proletarian dictatorship was declared here, the participation of the workers in the exercise of power ceased. Until then, they had been present there, even in the capitalist plants, in the form of plant committees and direct democratic institutions. After nationalization became a general practice, the participation of workers ceased to exist, and in my opinion, in the 1956 workers' councils, for example. This was the memory which came back, and not a counter-revolutionary intention.

[Correspondent] Can one of the results of this examination of the formation of the one-party system be that the MSZMP will try to learn to coexist with another party?

[Pozsgay] It has to learn to coexist not with one, but with two or more parties. The MSZMP cannot now say which ones will be serious factors in Hungarian political life, and neither does it want to. But a partnership will take shape, or just an opposition role by those who are unable to accept this partnership or coalition.

The seriousness of the matters naturally also demands—and we certainly know that the stakes are large—that the political stirrings of this or that type do not play a role in the government and the sociopolitical crises that we have ended up in; they are the consequences. The basic problem is that for 15-20 years, things have not been directed in a way to lead the basic processes and the political intentions in one direction; instead, they have diverged from one another, in spite of the best intentions. Thus, there are structural problems here, and figuring among these is that there was no really profound political debate which might have impeded arbitrariness and arbitrary decisions.

[Correspondent] You have mentioned the past 15-20 years. Does that mean that an analysis is also being prepared of the Kadar period?

[Pozsgay] Accounts must also be squared with that period, but I cannot promise much to those who conceive of this entirely in the form of a personal squaring of accounts. The matter here is not so primitive, because what pertained precisely to the essence of the system was that it was impossible to catch in the act those personally responsible or those responsible in general—although it is doubtless true that the responsibility of those who assumed a leading role during this period, regardless of the fact that they were slaves of a structure, is greater than that of those who suffered during this period. However, this must be carried through in a nuanced manner, according to the regulations of European civilization, and not in the form of some kind of ritual squaring of accounts, but rather, in the form of civilized compromise. However, the responsibility must be raised, and it cannot be by-passed by the newest period. Indeed, in a certain sense, although in the classical sense of the word it does not belong to the sphere of history, we must also examine why things have been going more slowly since May 1988, and why there is not a more far-reaching transformation of the economy, of social activity.

[Correspondent] Can anyone halt or prevent the work of this working group, or committee, or (?prevent it) from disclosing to the public facts which do not place the MSZMP, or whatever else, in a favorable light? To what extent does the work of the committee depend on the relations of power and disputes which are appearing in the party leadership and are slowing becoming more noticeable?

[Pozsgay] To be sure, it also depends on such things. It also is true that the large committee I am heading has received its mandate directly from the Central Committee; only the Central Committee may withdraw that mandate. This is how the situation stands from a principled, theoretical, and an organizational viewpoint. However, I cannot conceive such a withdrawal. If anyone would have such an absurd idea it would be similar to someone wanting to push toothpaste back into the tube. The only reason we have not yet placed documents and details before the public is that we are not ready. This work is of great significance, and it requires very great responsibility, but as we gradually come into possession of this data we intend to publish it even prior to the Central Committee sessions. In other words, this does not await prior consultations with the Central Committee. This knowledge already exists here; this data is already at hand. We intend to publish our results, which will have an impact on our political life.

Report Urges Radical 'Break' With Stalinism

LD2801030389 Budapest MTI in English 2112 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—The historical subcommittee affiliated to the working committee set up by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to analyse the past four decades of socio-economic development, held a session on Friday [27 January] under the chairmanship of the Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political Committee. The working committee came into being under a decision of the national party conference of May 1988, with the aim of evaluating with scientific methods of historico-political road covered by the HSWP, thus contributing to the revision of the party's manifesto.

Participants in the session, including noted experts, discussed a document of more than 100 pages submitted by Ivan T. Berend, member of the HSWP Central Committee, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and head of the subcommittee.

The historico-political study covers in depth the intricate conditions of the post-war period, the role of the Hungarian Communist Party and the importance of the coalition in reconstruction and the establishment of the democratic state. It reveals a number of new correlations concerning the 1950s, and treats in detail the events of 1956, as well as the results and contradictions of the period of consolidation.

Participants pointed out that no historico-political document of similar standard had ever been drawn up under the auspices of the HSWP. The study carries a thorough analysis of processes in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, depicting the economic, social and cultural policy tensions and the underlying causes.

The discussion cast light on several new aspects in the evaluation of the recent past, such as what forces were behind the turn that occurred during the party conference of May, 1988. It was stressed that the HSWP should radically break with all remnants of the Stalinist heritage and sincerely expose the past, because this is the only way the party can lay the foundations of a purified socialist policy and of the country's and its own progress in the next decade.

Berecz Views Party's Ability To Direct Reform

LD2801201889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Janos Berecz, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, spoke at the general assembly of the association of journalists. Our colleague Pal Toth reports:

[Toth] The biggest Hungarian party, the MSZMP, is not yet entirely suited to directing the processes of the revolutionary reform period, said Janos Berecz, secretary of the party Central Committee, in his speech to the general assembly of the association of Hungarian journalists. Other groups that might possibly organize as a party do not yet consider themselves at all able to direct the processes. The solution to the situation lies in consensus. The party is interested in developing a socialist Hungary that builds itself democratically, and it does not deny the fact that significant social tensions have accumulated that can create an unforseeable situation.

Besides this, of course, a crisis of trust also exists. In answering numerous questions, Berecz said that the stand of the party is that the gates have to be opened wide in front of the public, and that the freedom of the press and the freedom of expression have to be regulated by the law.

In Janos Berecz's opinion, the exercise of the rights of freedom cannot be the function of the country's financial situation. In answering a question directly connected to himself, he said that he recognizes the possibility of the reform process whisking him away as well, but that it is his conviction that the party cannot be eliminated from the transformation of the country.

Gyula Horn Arrives in ROK To Establish Ties

SK2901092589 Seoul YONHAP in English 0920 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Seoul, Jan 29 (YONHAP)—Hungarian State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Gyula Horn arrived in Seoul Sunday [29 January] for a five-day visit at the invitation of South Korean Vice Foreign Minister Sin Tong-won.

Upon his arrival at Seoul's Kimpo International Airport, Horn told reporters that his visit is aimed at establishing a full-fledged diplomatic relationship between the two countries.

"I think the two countries will be able to simultaneously announce the establishment of a full diplomatic relationship during my visit," Horn said.

Saying that the full diplomatic relations will further promote the ties between South Korea and Hungary, Horn disclosed that the two countries will sign on the visa exemption agreement as well as the cultural cooperation agreement during his stay in Seoul.

"I will meet with the leaders of the South Korean Government and will exchange with them a wide range of views," Horn said.

Horn is scheduled to pay a courtesy call on Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung and to have talks with Sin Monday. He will deliver a speech on Hungary's foreign policy at a seminar to be held Tuesday.

For the first time as a communist country, Hungary opened a permanent diplomatic mission late last year.

Varkonyi Reviews Foreign Policy Stands

LD2701133289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi has held a news conference in the Duna Intercontinental Hotel in Budapest. Istvan Kulcsar sent us this report:

[Kulcsar] Including interpreters, about 100 of us, both Hungarian and foreign journalists, assembled in the ballroom of the Duna Intercontinental Hotel for the news conference by Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi. It started at precisely 1100 and ended barely a few minutes ago.

In laying out the balance of Hungarian foreign policy during the last year, the minister recalled the numerous foreign trips of Karoly Grosz and 25 bilateral foreign

ministerial discussions. Hungarian foreign policy as a whole has concluded a very successful year. We established diplomatic relations with the EEC; we entered into relations with the Council of Europe and with several similar organizations; and we opened representations in Israel and South Korea.

The scope of our diplomatic activity has increased through the improvement in the whole international atmosphere, the minister said. The Hungarian reforms are also felt in foreign politics. Consultations with our allies have become fuller in content. Peter Varkonyi remarked that we have important interests attached to the Vienna discussions dealing with conventional disarmament in Europe, which are due to begin in March.

The minister then answered journalists' questions. On behalf of Hungarian radio, I asked whether they are not expecting to recall staff members of Hungarian representations from the Afghan capital in view of the dangerous situation evolving in Kabul. In his reply, Peter Varkonyi said that family members have already been recalled, while with regard to closing or temporarily suspending the operations of the diplomatic mission, no such decision has yet been made. However, the possibility cannot be excluded. Everything is geared to the safety of our diplomatic staff members, he said.

In answer to another question, Peter Varkonyi highly appreciated the GDR's announcement about unilateral troop reductions. He said that Hungarian diplomacy is continuously doing everything it can in the interest of the Hungarians of Romanian nationality staying in the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia. Hungarian diplomacy is in touch with the International Red Cross and trusts in the appropriate attitude of the Bulgarian authorities so that this issue can be resolved as soon as possible.

Peter Varkonyi reported that this morning the Presidential Council decided to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea. The bilateral document relating to this will be signed in the next few days. On the other hand, even after repeated questioning, the foreign minister was not willing to give a date concerning the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel. The minister likewise gave no deadline for when Hungary will abolish the technical blockade [mueszaki zar] affecting the western border.

Finally, Peter Varkonyi confirmed that George Bush has an open invitation to Hungary and expressed the hope that the U.S. President's visit will take place in the not too distant future.

Nemeth Cables Earthquake Condolences to Ryzhkov

LD2401213589 Budapest MTI in English
1801 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 24 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, has sent a telegram to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, expressing his condolences about the severe earthquake in Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic.

Consumer Goods Prices To Increase 30 Jan

LD2801231539 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Starting Monday [30 January] there will be another wide-ranging price increase.

Some 5,000 nonessential consumer goods will become more expensive. With the exception of Hungarian coffee, tobacco, and wine, the price of almost all those consumer goods which were not affected by the 9 January central price increase is increasing. Among other things, preserves, fruit juices, codials, sweets, and imported beverages are becoming more expensive. All of these products have freely set prices.

Trade Unions To Unite Against Strike Law

LD2701234889 Budapest MTI in English
2013 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—On Friday [27 January], seven trade unions and various independent social organizations agreed to take united action to prevent the planned strike law. They also agreed upon the necessity for a public debate over the right to strike, and decided to launch a wide-scale information and political campaign. The parties intend informing the public on their detailed ideas at a press conference in the near future.

Nyers Says Loans Needed To Pay Debt Interest

LD2801025789 Budapest MTI in English
2038 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—'The most important task now is to bring the economy into balance. As we are a year behind schedule, going on the original stabilization plan, everything possible should be done to prevent further increases in the national debt in 1991, and to make the economy self-financing', State Minister Rezso Nyers, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party pointed out at a winter camp of university students in Godollo on Friday [27 January]. 'This way the debt burden will no longer be unbearable, as the self-financing system will enable us to pay the interest out of local revenues. For the moment, additional loans have to be taken out to cover a major proportion of interest liabilities'.

The political reforms should also serve this goal, Mr Nyers said, for the success of political renewal depends on positive changes in the economy. The social reform process has gathered momentum, but comprehensive economic renewal might take several years to come about.

Much of the debate after the lecture was concerned with the opportunities for a multi-party system. Mr Nyers drew attention to the possible damage the rival parties may cause to the economy, and political inconfidence to

consolidation. In his view, a kind of middle-left cooperation should be achieved by the People's Front, with the Social Democratic Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the communist groupings more to the left. Who will be in the middle is still difficult to say, but the alternative organizations growing into parties will certainly include such political forces.

Constitutional Committee Debate Noted

LD2801030089 Budapest MTI in English 2142 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—It is quite superfluous to add epithets such as 'democratic' or 'socialist' to the designation 'Republic of Hungary', said MPS at Friday's [27 January] session of the constitutional committee of parliament. The name itself is self-explanatory of Hungary's constiutional form. The lawyers in attendance argued that it should be the Constitution itself which reflects that there is a democratic power and a socialist system in Hungary.

MPs proposed that the first chapter of the Constitution should lay down both human rights and obligations. They agreed that the prime minister should be elected by, and obliged to introduce his government to, parliament. They supported the idea that the president of the Republic should have genuine powers, but were not in favour of his being entitled to dissolve parliament, because a strong presidential system might lead towards a personality cult. Opinions varied about whether parliament should have one or two chambers.

Concerning the symbols of the nation, some MPS felt that a coat of arms including the crown would be the most suitable for expressing statehood, while others opted for the Kossuth coat of arms.

Outlining the schedule of framing the new constitution, Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, said that the draft would be discussed by social organizations and representatives of the alternative organizations in the weeks to come. Relying on the opinions expressed and the proposals made, a secretariat in charge of codification in the Ministry of Justice would elaborate the final conception to be discussed by the HSWP Political Committee, the Central Committee and, on March 8, by parliament. The text of the constitution will be drafted by June 30, presented for public debate in the second half of the year, and to parliament in December. If parliament approves the new constitution, it will most probably be subject to a referendum.

Summing up contributions to the debate, Mr Kulcsar concluded that there was an unambiguous demand for a single head of state, a strong president of the Republic, a strong parliament and a strong government. He added that public expectation would justify the establishment of the institution of ombudsman.

Hundreds of Youths, Police Clash in Gdansk

AU2901183589 Paris AFP in English 1748 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 29 (AFP)—Hundreds of stone-throwing Polish youths chanting "down with the Communists" clashed with police in Gdansk on Sunday, after ignoring pleas for calm by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, witnesses said.

About 300 youths took to the streets chanting "down with (Prime Minister Mieczyslaw) Rakowski" after joining 3,000 people in an impromptu rally outside St. Bridget's church in the docklands of this northern city where Solidarity was born.

Mr. Walesa, jostled by a handful of youths chanting "down with Walesa," told the young radicals to "calm down."

But instead they marched through nearby streets, throwing stones at police who tried to block their way, before dispersing after about 20 minutes.

Mr. Walesa warned against mass street demonstrations that could jeopardize planned "round table" talks between the government and Solidarity on the possible legalisation of the banned union. The talks are due to open on February 6.

He cautioned the youths: "Don't lay yourself open to provocations and do not cause disorder in the streets," threatening to end Solidarity's practice of paying demonstrators' fines.

Solidarity also bankrolls youth opposition groups in Poland.

Mr. Walesa called on all Poles to support him, defending his policy of negotiating with the government by saying that he would be an "idiot" not to seize the opportunity to improve living conditions for ordinary people.

"I am not naive", he said, "but if we have a chance to solve our problems, I would be stupid to waste it and to not try to make life better in Poland."

Mr. Walesa said on Sunday: "Even if the chance (of Solidarity being legalised) is slim, at least the possibility exists."

Preliminary Solidarity, Government Talks Start

First Roundtable Meeting Set

LD2701224389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] A preparatory meeting for the roundtable proceedings took place today. Participating in the meeting were: General Czeslaw Kiszczak, with Stanislaw Ciosek, Andrzej Gdula, Jan Janowski, Bogdan Krolewski, and Janusz Reykowski, and Lech Walesa, with Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Bronislaw Geremek, Mieczyslaw Gil, Lech Kaczynski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Andrzej Stelmachowski. Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski and Father Alojzy Orszulik also took part in the meeting.

The subject of the discussion was the matter of union pluralism, including Solidarity, as well as other problems that will be covered by the roundtable proceedings. Procedural steps were adopted. It was preliminarily agreed that three working groups—on economy and social policy, on political reform and on union pluralism—would be set up. Furthermore, it was agreed that subgroups would be set up on agriculture, mining, legal and judicial reform, associations and self-government, mass media, and young people, among other things.

It was established that the first sitting of the roundtable would take place in Warsaw on 6 February.

Leaders Welcome Roundtable Date

LD2901102889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Excerpt] The setting of the date for the beginning of roundtable deliberations has been welcomed by various circles of the Polish society. The Consultative Council at the President of the Council of State expressed hope that these talks would bring about essential progress in the effort for national agreement. Similar opinions were expressed during meetings with General Kiszczak, by the chairman of the National Trade Union Accord (OPZZ), Alfred Miodowicz and Jan Dobraczynski, president of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). [passage omitted]

Solidarity 'Anarchy' Feared

AU2901182689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jan 89 p 5

[Letter to TRYBUNA LUDU from Jan Smotrys from Minsk Mazowiecki: "One Lesson Is Enough"]

[Text] I wonder how Mr Walesa views the possibility of legalizing "Solidarity" since the 10th plenum. How does he think this can happen without the anarchy that occurred in 1981 (of which he spoke on television)? I have serious doubts. If today there are major legal safeguards against an eruption of strikes and strikes inspired by the illegal "Solidarity" occur despite these safeguards, then please explain to people what these safeguards will be if "Solidarity" is legalized.

I am convinced that every Polish home is concerned not only about the trade unions, but also about our fatherland. Declarations like "If there is a legal 'Solidarity,' there will be no illegal strikes" do not sound very convincing to an intelligent person. We do not want to repeat a rather unpleasant lesson from recent history. Perhaps Walesa sees some solution. If he does, we would like to know what they are.

Walesa Views Role of Solidarity

LD2801114889 Hamburg DPA in German 1054 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Lech Walesa, chairman of the banned Solidarity trade union, said on Saturday that he is satisfied over the talks with the Polish leadership. "We have the opportunity to smash monopolies in the political, economic, and social sphere", Walesa told newsmen in a lecture room of Warsaw University. There were differences of opinion at the meeting, but they were not so great that contact would have to be broken off.

The core question was the legalization of the banned Solidarity trade union. "We have become more clever in recent years", the workers' leader said. "We want to be a strong trade union and not a political party." As long as monopolies existed, Solidarity should also speak for political groupings and cannot restrict itself only to trade union problems.

Walesa announced that the "roundtable" negotiations for 6 February—they are due to be continued in working groups shortly after their commencement—have been planned to take place for around 6 weeks. However, this is not a final and firm schedule, as there are a number of difficult problems to solve and one does not wish to allow oneself to be pressured by time.

Walesa Holds News Conference

LD2801143289 Warsaw PAP in English 1141 GMT 28 Jan 89

[By Stanislaw Filipczak and Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw Jan 28—"The 10th PUWP CC Plenary Meeting has provided us with political guarantees for the legalisation of Solidarnosc;" this statement made by Lech Walesa opened his press conference today which followed his talks with General Czeslaw Kiszczak on Friday (January 27).

"For us these guarantees are sufficient," Walesa said and added that he was convinced Poland needs more understanding and, above all, more agreement. "We are doomed to agreement," he said.

Referring to the unrest and strike-prone moods now prevailing in some Polish factories and circles Lech Walesa said:

"It is necessary to build Poland. We shall never solve our problems with strikes. All people in Poland have a good reason to strike but responsibility for this country, responsibility for our future makes us think how to get out of this. I do hope people will pull themselves together, I do hope for understanding and finding a common language."

When he spoke of Solidarnosc after 1981 Walesa said, among other things: "We have learnt a lot. We have a lot of experience, good and bad. We hope we shall be better, wiser, and that we shall eventually reach an agreement in Poland, in the heart of Europe, that will satisfy everyone in this country and in the neighbouring ones."

Asked about the difficult situation of the younger generation, part of which displays its disappointment with the state of affairs, Walesa called for common sense, for trying to sort out and solve all the problems. If we fail to do that, we'll make our situation even worse. There are plenty of problems. I have nothing positive to offer to the young people in exchange. This is my tragedy, our tragedy, but I do believe in the sensibility, wisdom of the Poles for we have always had enough of this wisdom in difficult situation," Walesa said.

How long will the "round table" talks, to start February 6, last? One can hardly unequivocally define this now, Lech Walesa answered. We would like to settle this as swiftly as possible but there are many very important problems to solve. A preliminary estimate is the period of 6 weeks but it can change. Solidarnosc made an effort to appoint the best possible teams to both the main negotiations and to the "smaller tables" to gain the greatest possible advantage.

At the same time, he confirmed that Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron would take part in this discussion.

What were the most contentious questions in the Friday talks? There were no questions as contentious as to rule out the possibilities of negotiations and finding solutions, answered Lech Walesa.

Many journalists took interest in Walesa's attitude towards well-known personalities and their statements. Commenting on Premier Rakowski's assertion that the authorities and Solidarnosc can somewhere find themselves in the same camp, Walesa recalled: We are in the same country and thus in the same camp.

At another moment, Walesa said that he did not size up actions of OPZZ leader Alfred Miodowicz and the OPZZ All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions, while Solidarnosc comes out for trade union pluralism and for respecting conventions. It will respect all this but it will demand that the line of conduct towards it should be the same.

Walesa thinks that the crisis was caused by the monopolization of political, trade union, social and economic life and Solidarnosc will try to break up these monopolies but one should not expect economic results too soon.

A new chapter opens up in Poland's domestic relations, Walesa said answering a question about the upcoming Sejm elections. Solidarnosc does not seek the ways of conflict over the elections. Will you run as a candidate? I do not think I can be a Sejm deputy as I am a trade unionist and will not be a candidate, Walesa answered.

Does Solidarnosc want to take over power? It would be tragic and even fatal if we attempted to make such a step. On the other hand, we have a "deal to strike" with the government: We must create conditions of struggle for such programmes and solutions under which a better programme would win and have the opportunity of being implemented.

Walesa denied suggestions contained in some questions alleging that Solidarnosc would turn into a political party. We want to be a good and strong trade union but under new economic, legal and political conditions.

Answering a question if he supported the West giving credits to the Polish Government, Walesa said that Poland should be and was worthy of being given assistance but this ought to be done so that it would bring Poland nearer to civilization, Europe and the world. This should be done if there are guarantees of arranging this assistance in such a way.

Discussing the future of the union, the state of its organization and the congresses that are to be held, Walesa stressed the necessity to preserve the principle: No activist of the union can perform his function longer than two terms of office. There are no "holy" activists.

Solidarnosc is keen on informing about its activity, the "round table" debates and the situation in the Union. The interest in these questions is testified to by an interview that he gave to the "NEW TIMES" Soviet political weekly before the start of the press conference, said Walesa.

My socialism is the following: There are three bakeries—the state, cooperative and private ones. The one that bakes the best bread rolls is socialist, answered Walesa a question about his attitude towards socialism.

Walesa on Status of Solidarity

LD2801192789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Lech Walesa's news conference was held in Warsaw today. These are some of the questions and Walesa's replies to them.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] In connection with the political will of the 10th plenum, Premier Rakowski said there that there would be no reinstatement of Solidarity, but that a new union would be created. Has any clarification been made on this issue, and in particular, will the statute of Solidarity be observed in this respect, that the only body authorized to alter it is a democratically assembled congress of the union?

[Walesa] Solidarity itself will be defined in detail at the roundtable. We will think about that in detail there. Today, I am not able to answer to what extent. At the moment we must fight for such an opportunity. We have succeeded in doing this. We have achieved maximum results in what we intended to do. However, there will be more to follow and this will finally resolve all these problems.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is a similar situation as far as elections are concerned. We said, and are saying, only that in connection with the fact that a new chapter is being opened in Poland's internal relations, we are not now looking for ways to a conflict. However, up to now, there have been various conflicts in this respect. We hope that these conflicts will be eliminated in an evolutionist manner. However, we are not prepared, either as a union or as society, to change our opinion on this subject. This is a very difficult and responsible subject and one cannot.... [incomplete sentence as heard]

We can argue today—I am speaking with full sincerity—we can argue about exchanging worse people for better, but generally speaking one cannot adopt a different attitude. Everyone who has this responsibility must understand that society (?then) was not prepared and is not now prepared to receive some great solutions, party or government solutions, etc..

[Unidentified speaker] Can you provide a complete list for the first main roundtable meeting?

[Walesa] (?We have set the meeting) for 1130, as you remember. We have to go through previous lists. We will not want to change ourselves. We want to fit in better. [end recording]

Asked about unrest and strike (?actions) in some enterprises, Lech Walesa said that we will never solve our problems through strikes. The sense of responsibility for our future tells us to avoid strikes.

Talking about the difficult situation of the younger generation, whose representatives express disappointment with the existing state of affairs, Walesa appealed for consideration and attempts to resolve the issue peacefully. He expressed his belief in common sense and wisdom, which have not left Poles up to now.

Czyrek Queried on Solidarity

PM3001105689 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 26 Jan 89 p 14

[Interview with PZPR Politburo member Josef Czyrek by Andrea Tarquini on 25 January; place not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[Introductory passage omitted] Josef Czyrek told me: "The policy of dialogue and the quest for national understanding are a strategic objective, not a tactical expedient to delay social unrest and confrontations between us and them. It is the risky but inevitable choice of the lesser evil. Together with the constructive opposition, we want to formulate a humanistic and democratic model of socialism that takes account of the pluralism that already exists in Polish society."

[Tarquini] Until 2 months ago, however, you were still calling Solidarity an illegal force. How did you reach this strategic change of course in a mere 60 days?

[Czyrek] It is 7 years since 13 December 1981, when martial law was the lesser evil for us—the only way out of a violent crisis and a civil war that would have threatened peace in Europe and worldwide. Throughout this period both we and they have changed. Walesa now says that we are all Poles and all want the best for the country.

[Tarquini] So is the dialogue option the lesser evil for you? From the government's viewpoint, is it the converse of 13 December?

[Czyrek] Our priority is no longer to defend the government against the opposition but to see whether the opposition is constructive or destructive. Our theories and theirs seem to be converging. The document approved Sunday by the Solidarity leadership shows how the opposition has regenerated itself. Under such conditions the joint march with them to pluralism seems the best recipe for the country's economic recovery and its best interests.

[Tarquini] Solidarity will say to you: How can pluralism be reconciled with the article in the Constitution that enshrines the party's leading role?

[Czyrek] The solution to the problem is simple: The Constitution can be amended. We believe that the party must acquire its leading role politically and must not enjoy it by a legal right enshrined in the very Constitution. That article was included in the Constitution not in 1948 but in 1976, during the Brezhnev era. Now the situation is different throughout the world and we must seek solutions appropriate to the new conditions. Certain ideas are a legacy from the 19th century and cannot help us advance to the year 2000.

[Tarquini] Can you actually imagine a Poland in which Rakowski and Walesa could alternate as government leaders on the basis of the people's preferences?

[Czyrek] I hope we will vote in May, with the new electoral law that could permit open lists of candidates. I do not know what kind of Poland our children will be living in. I believe that at the moment, amid the tensions caused by the economic emergency, rotation would revive the threat of a confrontation between two opposing forces. We are not yet ready as a nation to espouse the ground rules of the Western democracies.

[Tarquini] So are you still saying say "no" to pluralism, but in different words?

[Czyrek] No, that is not so. We are proposing to Solidarity that we gradually build together a new Polish pluralism, which depends on a period of national understanding and social truce. The truce will enable us to formulate together new institutional forms and new ground rules, new channels of consensus and debate.

[Tarquini] In the past 2 months has Moscow given signs of approving the opening up to Solidarity?

[Czyrek] The Soviet comrades and we are seeking different solutions to different situations. However, our understanding is greater everyday and we agree on the fundamental objectives. With Gorbachev in Moscow, Eastern Europe can attempt national paths to restructuring. At last the Soviet Union is respecting Poland's independence and sovereignty and at last the Brezhnev Doctrine is dead.

[Tarquini] Do you foresee any changes in the party and government leadership?

[Czyrek] The plenum confirmed its confidence in the party leaders and the next congress must return to the issue. The new government will be formed after the elections, with a new Sejm.

[Tarquini] Will the economic decline not prevent you from saving the system?

[Czyrek] True, before the war the difference between Poland's and Italy's GNP was much smaller than it is now, but here, as in the USSR, it is precisely the emergency that is prompting all our political forces to reform the system and return to the market economy. The emergency has made us realize that Stalinist centralism—perhaps a necessary tool in post-war rebuilding—has become a doctrine that curbs social energies.

[Tarquini] Yesterday the television showed a discussion between Jaruzelski and a number of party members. One young communist said he fears being hanged by oppositionists. Do you fear this, too?

[Czyrek] No, nobody in the party leadership has this fear. Undoubtedly there is a risk of the economic emergency's encouraging primitive manifestations of intolerance both in our ranks and in theirs. Solidarity must realize that its members who shout "a communist hanging from every lamppost" are not facilitating the dialogue. I believe that the values of social peace and progress will prevail, despite all the nonsense being spoken on all sides.

[Tarquini] Will Father Niedzielak's murder not hinder the dialogue?

[Czyrek] We are awaiting the results of the autopsy and the inquest. Together with all Poles, we mourn the death of a man. Remember that we leaders—together with the rest of society—reject violence. Whoever committed

that crime [chiunque abbia commesso quel crimine] will be punished with the maximum severity of our laws. For us and for everyone here, human life is the most sacrosanct asset.

OPZZ Reacts to Rountable Meetings, Holds Talks

Representatives Meet Jaruzelski

AU2801094089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 89 p 1

[PAP report: "Wojciech Jaruzelski's Meeting With OPZZ Representatives"]

[Text] On 23 January, at the Belvedere, State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski met with the OPZZ Executive Committee Secretariat, OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, and the chairmen of OPZZ councils and commissions.

The trade unionists told him that the constantly deteriorating standard of living of working people, working conditions, and work safety are the greatest cause of concern among trade unionists. These deteriorating conditions are particularly felt by women, Polish mothers, in state enterprises. Violations of the labor code and other malpractices are also causing anxiety.

The OPZZ reaffirmed its stance whereby employees in the state sector, especially those in the budget sphere, still carry the main burden caused by hasty and unpremeditated decisions by the state and economic management. Propaganda slogans calling on these workers to become rich are causing even greater anger.

The way the media, especially television, present the problems and objectives of the work forces and the trade unions was criticized. The trade unionists thought that the interests of working people are not being presented accurately, and that the efforts of the unions are being played down.

The trade unionists once again expressed their concern over the delayed amendment to the labor code and trade union act. They said that the trade union movement has always been in favor of broadly conceived political and trade union pluralism. Evidence of this is the Miodowicz-Walesa TV debate.

Trade unionists believe that trade union pluralism must be introduced in accordance with the law and the wishes of trade unionists. Faits accomplis and pressure on people are impermissible, for instead of making social life more democratic, they merely create unnecessary new divisions and antagonize the working people.

Trade unionists consider the new partners that are appearing on the political scene as a consolidation of social forces, which will permit close control of the administration. This may bring about favorable changes in the functioning of the state and economy.

The trade unionists believe that the "roundtable" should discuss ways of introducing pluralistic solutions to the functioning of our state. This meeting must be dominated by the spirit of accord for the sake of the basic interests of all Poles and a better future for socialist Poland.

The OPZZ repeated its offer to cooperate with all organizations' forces which identify Poland's interests with decent conditions for those who create the basis for national existence through their daily toil.

Referring to the speeches made, W. Jaruzelski underlined the great importance of the trade union movement and OPZZ for normalizing social life in Poland, and their great achievements in the defense of workers interests. Democratization and reforms are processes that can only bring results if there is a joint patriotic feeling of responsibility for the affairs of our fatherland, a search for accord, and joint activity between all constructive forces in achieving a better standard of living.

Stance on Roundtable, Pluralism

LD2601200489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Jan 89

["Stance" adopted by the OPZZ Council at a meeting 26 January; read by OPZZ Spokesman Franciszek Ciemny—live or recorded]

[Text] We have been and are in favor of normalization of the country's sociopolitical life. A sign of that normalization is political and trade union pluralism. However, the way of introducing it in the current Polish conditions requires particular circumspection and responsibility, and above all, that the opinions of the working class, working people, and the whole of society be listened to, including the legal representative of the working worlds, the trade union.

The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, however, presented the trade union movement with a fait accompli. This is giving rise to understandable indignation in our trade union organizations. We cannot bear the responsibility for the effects of the 10th plenum's decisions.

Second, stressing our own independent view of the assessment of the country's social, political, and economic situation, we fully support the speech by OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz at that plenum.

Third, radical political, social, and economic reforms are the only way out of the present situation. We favor the kind of socialism whose subject is the working man and whose aim is his well-being.

Fourth, millions of working people, upon whom Poland's future depends, are feeling more and more painfully the lack of progress in solving the basic problems of their life—market supply, housing construction,

the protection of health, and the environment. Family budgets and economies are being consumed by the fever of inflation. The encouragement of enrichment relates to a very narrow social group. Meanwhile, there is a lack of credible activities satisfying the elementary needs of workers in the socialized sector and their families, as well as veterans of labour.

Fifth, the key to the attainment of a new model for our system is full democracy and the strengthening of social control over the authorities. The roundtable may play an important role in this respect. We are in favor of the immediate start of its deliberations.

Sixth, the appropriate places for the conflict of political interests and views and proprieties are the Sejm and the people's councils, parties, and associations. The trade unions and work enterprises cannot be the venue for political struggle. This must not be allowed to occur.

Seventh, the model of the trade unions, its representation, and method of work will be decided by independent work forces taking heed of the law in force.

Eighth,. in solving the problems of the union movement, in a democratic system of state organization, the decisions of the Polish People's Republic must be needed. Namely, the ILO conventions. We are in favor of strengthening and developing trade unions in work enterprises, treating this as the widening of the social forces defending the interests of working people and increasing the effectiveness of the struggle with arrogance, the breaking of the law, the lack of respect for the dignity of the worker.

And ninth, with the aim of presenting trade union activities, we demand the widening of access to the mass media. The OPZZ Council turns to all unionists for unification and an unyielding stance in defense of workers' interests. In your activities you are not alone. The union community grouped in the OPZZ will everywhere defend its identity and achievements. To the sympathizers of our movement in the milieux of the working intelligentsia, the intellectuals and journalists, people of culture and science, social and religious and journalists, people of culture and science, social and religious movements, for the understanding and support of our activities; to the members of other currents of the union movement, for cooperation and direct contacts in the fulfilling of union obligations in relation to working people; we need no intermediaries. [sentence as heard] We will jointly be in a condition to influence the necessary transformations of Poland.

Vice Chair Comments on 'Talks'

LD2801190289 Warsaw PAP in English 1548 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 28—Western agencies and radio stations reported on Friday that Romuald Sosnowski, vice-chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), represented the OPZZ in preparatory talks to the "round table."

"Nothing of this kind took place," Sosnowski told PAP reporter in connection with such reports. "After getting acquainted with the composition of participants in preparatory talks we, as the OPZZ, found that it was going to b[illegible] a meeting between representatives of the authorities and opposition."

"I would like to stress that we are an independent force whose views found expression in the stand of the OPZZ Council, adopted last Jan 26. An OPZZ delegation to 'round table' talks is prepared to present its own proposals," the OPZZ vice chairman stated.

Representatives Meet Kiszczak

LD2801133989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] General Czeslaw Kiszczak has had a meeting at OPZZ Headquarters with Alfred Miodowicz. Taking part in the meeting were Stanislaw Ciosek, Janusz Reykowski, and Alfred Gdula [name as heard], and representatives of the trade union movement Janusz Jarlinski, Jacek Krzyanowski, Wlodzimierz Lubanski, Maciej Manicki, Waclaw Martyniuk, Romuald Sosnowski, Stanislaw Wisniewski, Jan (?Zaczura), and OPZZ advisers.

The subject of the meeting was the problems linked with the beginning of the roundtable discussion. General Kiszczak reported to the trade union movement representatives on the topics to be discussed, the proposed composition of the participants, and organizational matters.

The OPZZ representatives received with satisfaction the decision on the date of the discussions, declaring their active part in them. Alfred Miodowicz said that the trade union movement intends to present its independent view concerning the social agreement proposed by the OPZZ during the deliberations.

Leaders Meet Miodowicz

LD2801213189 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 28—Chairman of factory trade union organizations from 9 voivodships, Warsaw included, met Alfred Miodowicz here today to discuss the situation in the trade union movement after the 10th PUWP CC Plenum had adopted its stand on political and trade union pluralism. THus, they started a series of 8 regional meetings to be held in the coming days and to gather trade unionists from 1,600 factories. A conference of chairmen of trade unions from the 210 biggest plants will be held February 3 after the meetings end.

"Our strength boils down to the sum of activeness of trade unions in factories," Miodowicz said during the meeting. "A close contact with the factory base is the question of essential importance for the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) today. That is the reason

for a plan to set up a consultative council at the OPZZ chairman to be composed of representatives of factory organizations from 8 regions."

Participants in the meeting supported a stand of the OPZZ council on pluralism of two days ago and asked the council to legalize the principle of regional cooperation of trade unions.

Coal Mine Attempt at TU Pluralism Reported

AU2901195689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jan 89 p 2

[Jan Rutkowski report: "An Uneasy Road to Pluralism"]

[Excerpts] There was a lot of talk about the attempt to establish cooperation between the official trade union and the "Solidarity" committee at the "Mosz czenica" coal mine in Jastrzebie. Some miners frowned and said: What? Official negotiations with an illegal trade union? That is against the law and our interests. Others replied: The interests of the miners call for a strong trade union movement.

"We felt the possibility of a historic occurrence at the 'Mosz czenice' coal mine," Jozef Hibner, chairman of the trade union of employees at this coal mine, told me. "That is why when the 'Solidarity' committee at the mine suggested cooperation with us, we agreed."

Everything began smoothly. At the end of December, three 'Solidarity' activists. Headed by Grzegorz Kolos, chairman of the provisional 'Solidarity' factory committee, came to the headquarters of the official coal mine trade union. They were the first to suggest cooperation with the official unions.

"We saw nothing against this," said Ryszard Wojtowicz, secretary of the independent trade union of employees at the "Mosz czenica" mine. "So we decided to meet in order to discuss broader issues of cooperation. The other side even appointed a special team of negotiators. However, on 11 January, the 'Solidarity' group insisted that the provisional 'Solidarity' committee at this mine be recognized as a condition for further talks. Do trade unionists representing a single work place have the right to make such demands?" In the end, a declaration was adopted entitled "Declaration of Intended Cooperation Between the Trade Union of 'Mosz czenica' Miners and the Provisional 'Solidarity' Committee of Miners at 'Mosz czenica' for the Sake of Mine Employees." The above demand was dropped in favor of a compromise, which said: "The two union structures do not cancel each other out." [passage omitted]

Michal Oslizko, deputy secretary of the trade union of 'Mosz czenice' miners, says: "On 16 January, we held a meeting with the mine management, at which we conveyed complaints from miners. We invited 'Solidarity' representatives to this meeting. We even reached joint agreements at this meeting. However, the 'Solidarity' mine committee announced a rally for the following day, with the request that the poster announcing this rally be hung up on a noticeboard. Now, in our mine, we have two seams, the main seam and the Western seam, in other words two shafts, and the entrance to each shaft has its own notice board. Only one copy of the poster was provided, and we decided to display it at the Western shaft. However, 'Solidarity' objected, and insisted that it be displayed at the main shaft. We complied, but even so, on the following day, 'Solidarity' said at its rally that it was breaking off contact with us."

How can one interpret this decision? Was it just a heated reaction, the underlying cause of which was a lack of confidence? Or was this a political game planned in advance, which, having served its purpose, was cancelled using any pretext whatsoever?

In order to explain this, I spoke to Grzegorz Kolos and Henryk Krzyz of the "Solidarity" committee. They tried to explain to me why they had decided to postpone cooperation with the other trade union for the time being. "They prevent us from using the mine's public address system, and demand that communiques, which they allow to be posted on their noticeboards, be censored," said Kolos. "How can they do this? After all, we signed a joint declaration. That involves certain commitments." [passage omitted]

I wonder whether this is a normal road which the entire Polish trade union movement will have to take. If so, both sides are going to need a lot of patience and goodwill.

Labor Disagreement at 'Morcinek' Mine Reported

AU2901192189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Jan 89 p 2

[Report by Jan Rutkowski: "There Was No Strike, But There Was a Bitter Atmosphere"]

[Excerpts] On 20 January, when all the media carried the Central Committee stand on political and trade union pluralism, disturbing events occurred at the "Morcinek" coal mine in Kaczyce. Roman Brydy, deputy chairman of the trade union of miners, said: "We had hoped that some sort of consensus with fellow miners belonging to 'Solidarity' would have been possible, but their conduct indicates that either this is impossible, or that a long and arduous road lies in store for us."

What caused these words? A short strike had been planned for 20 January in case management failed to satisfy demands, which were: the inclusion of some technical employees in a higher wage category, and a 100-percent increase in the bonuses fund. [passage omitted]

Stefan Piwonski, deputy chairman of the Federation of Miners Trade Unions, said that he had just received news that these demands had been accepted in principle

by the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. "Therefore, instead of holding the strike, we decided to hold a meeting so that this news could be read out. However, to this meeting came a group of six or seven 'Solidarity' mine committee members, who started whistling and shouting slogans like: 'You have done nothing for 30 years,' after which they started to remove our trade union emblems and flags. The meeting was terminated." [passage omitted]

"We are in the middle of a struggle for the work force," someone told me at the offices of the miners trade union. "However, 'Solidarity,' seeing that many matters lie outside 'Solidarity's' control, such as the Miners Charter, bonuses, and severance pay, is trying to convince the work force that all these features were won by 'Solidarity.' And yet it is we, the official trade union, who won these privileges." [passage omitted]

One of the journalists present at the mine said that 'Solidarity's' reaction to the work of the official trade union is caused by jealousy, because 'Solidarity' used to enjoy a monopoly over the holding of strikes. Perhaps that is so, but that does not alter the fact that pluralism may lead to an escalation of strike demands in the future.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Paris CW Conference
AU2901164389 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Jan 89 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Stefan Staniszewski, press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by ZYCIE WARSZAWY reporter Ryszard Bankowicz: "Poland Has No Chemical Weapons"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Bankowicz] The international chemical weapons conference that ended in Paris a few days ago is encouraging Polish society to ask questions about our country's approach toward these weapons. We know Polish diplomacy's general stance, but let us be specific. Does Poland have chemical weapons?

[Staniszewski] Of course not. Poland does not have these weapons, does not produce them, and does not store them on its territory. Poland is also doing all it can to prevent the proliferation of these weapons on an international scale. A practical illustration of Poland's conduct is the decree issued by the minister of foreign economic cooperation last December, which calls for particularly severe restrictions on trade with substances that could be used in the manufacture of chemical weapons.

For many years, Poland has been leading the work of the Geneva Disarmament Conference on a draft chemical weapons convention. The fact that Minister Tadeusz Olechowski was offered deputy chairmanship of the Paris conference is proof of the recognition accorded to our work.

[Bankowicz] How do you assess the Paris talks?

[Staniszewski] I think they were a very big step along the road to a total ban on and elimination of chemical weapons. The initiative to hold the conference came from President Reagan and was approved by President Mitterrand, the head of the country which has in its keeping the 1925 Geneva Protocol that banned the use of chemical weapons. The conference's significance lies not only in the fact that representatives from 149 countries were able to express the views of their governments on the subject of the conditions governing the process of eliminating chemical weapons, and that they condemned the use of these weapons, which has occurred in recent years. The conference's significance lies also in the fact that the overwhelming majority of the participants spoke out in favor of the conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons, and that it took place in a climate devoid of confrontational polemics.

Without denying the expediency of a general ban, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz stressed that most of all, his government perceives the need to apply sharp sanctions in accordance with the UN Charter in cases where chemical weapons are used. He also pointed out the danger of terrorists having access to these weapons. Referring to Gorbachev's program of eliminating all mass-destruction weapons by the end of the 20th century, Minister Eduard Shevardnadze presented the tasks now facing all potential signatories of the chemical weapons convention. This stance, as well as the Soviet decision to start eliminating Soviet stockpiles of chemical weapons before the signing of the convention, was welcomed in Paris.

[Bankowicz] Nevertheless, not all issues encountered unanimity. Which ones did not?

[Staniszewski] Most of the socialist countries spoke out in favor of the quickest possible end to work on the convention, by the end of 1990. They said that the progress in the negotiations and the favorable international situation encourage a rapid end to this work. They also firmly opposed the use of chemical weapons, and called for a firm adherence to the Geneva protocol that was concluded 64 years ago.

A somewhat different stance was adopted by Romania, which wants to combine the elimination of chemical weapons with the elimination of remaining categories of mass-destruction weapons, mainly nuclear ones, so that, as the Romanian representatives stressed, the balance between these weapons is preserved. The nonaligned countries, chiefly Arab countries, feared that removing chemical weapons and establishing a system of control over their elimination may make international cooperation in the chemical industry more difficult, and hinder access to the technology involved in the production of some substances. It was also said that chemical disarmament may increase the danger posed by countries capable of manufacturing their own nuclear weapons.

Despite these differences of view, which also applied to certain matters connected with the non-proliferation of chemical weapons, a compromise final declaration was reached on the basis of a consensus. This ceremonious commitment not to use chemical weapons, plus the call for a rapid end to the work on the forthcoming chemical weapons convention, lead one to the conviction that the hopes vested in the Paris conference have not been in vain.

Rakowski on FRG Ties, Credits While in Bonn

AU2901175489 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Jan 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, in Bonn, by ZYCIE WARSZAWY correspondent Michal Jaranowski: "A Different Look at Poland"; date not given]

[Text] [Jaranowski] Did the Bonn talks meet your expectations, Mr Premier?

[Rakowski] Yes. My interlocutors behaved in a formal, polite way. All my meetings were full of substance. This permits me to say that my visit was not a mere formality.

[Jaranowski] Politicians and commentators here have described you as a realist. In view of the complexity of bilateral relations, would you say the same of your partners?

[Rakowski] I think that their view of these relations is much more realistic than it was before. The West German partners are realizing Poland's actual problems, and they agree that everything hinges upon the state of the economy. My chief interlocutors also displayed realism in their assessment of the situation in Poland and Europe.

As far as Polish-FRG relations are concerned, my interlocutors agreed that a year marking the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, when shots were fired at the fortress at Westerplatte, is a good time to impart deeper substance to our relations. I think that what they said proves their conviction that thanks to perestroyka and the changes taking place in the socialist countries, including Poland, there is a growing chance of consolidating peace in Europe and enriching economic, cultural, and political relations.

[Jaranowski] Did "1 September" dominate all your talks?

[Rakowski] No, but it was present throughout.

[Jaranowski] In that case, what was the leading topic?

[Rakowski] The Polish reforms. There were no questions about whether the reforms are real. My interlocutors know that progress has been achieved in the reforms, they know the course of the latest plenum, and they know about the laws passed by the Sejm. They realize that the radicalization of Poland's economic relations is called for in this legislation. I encountered recognition for the paths of action chosen by my government, and I believe that this recognition was genuine.

[Jaranowski] The mass media also expressed this recognition. By the way, interest in your visit has exceeded all expectations, and you ought to know, having been hounded by journalists all the time. But getting back to the subject, how was your talk with Helmut Haussman, the new economics minister?

[Rakowski] I presented all our economic problems. I reminded him, and not only him, that these issues also possess a political and moral dimension. That does not mean that Poland is trying to avoid repaying its debts. The point is to strengthen the Polish economy so that it is capable of repaying these credits. Therefore, I said that the Polish economy needs a respite. No economic solutions will be permanent unless they are accompanied by an improvement in economic conditions.

[Jaranowski] You and Chancellor Kohl appointed your own personal plenipotentiaries in order to break the deadlock in our bilateral relations. Who are these people? When will they start work?

[Rakowski] My plenipotentiary is Ernest Kucza. The chancellor chose his foreign policy adviser, Horst Teltschik. They will begin their work in a few days, on 1 February. Time is one of the few things that one cannot buy. The plenipotentiaries are preparing suggestions for resolving difficult issues.

[Jaranowski] Let us assume that the subject of credits comes up again. Economic circles here are saying that Polish enterprises have no idea of what they would do with these credits.

[Rakowski] That is not true. On the contrary, we have very concrete ideas and ready suggestions. All that has to be done is to present these suggestions clearly. I do not mean that we have to say how much money we need for this or that. We have already established that. Rather, I mean plans of a more technical nature. We have a very clear idea, not just a vague one, about where in the Polish economy we would like to see a larger presence of FRG firms.

[Jaranowski] After these talks, is there a bigger chance of Bonn's representatives to the Paris Club demonstrating a greater understanding of Poland's position?

[Rakowski] In every single talk, I raised the subject of the Paris Club stance vis-a-vis our debts and our demands. I met understanding and declarations that the FRG side would try to meet our demands halfway. At the same time, it was stressed that the FRG is not the only member of this club. I gave confident replies, but the

FRG possesses a major influence over Paris Club decisions. I also discussed this subject with French President Mitterrand. He displayed personal interest in the Polish postulates.

[Jaranowski] That would indicate a positive atmosphere toward Poland. Did your government's latest economic and political steps, the internal democratization, and the decisions of the latest plenum affect the atmosphere of the talks?

[Rakowski] Absolutely. I would say that they even altered people's attitude toward Poland.

[Jaranowski] Do your partners realize that today's Poland is different from the one they have grown accustomed to thinking about?

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Jaranowski] Thank you for the interview, Mr Premier.

Commission Refuses Government Report

LD2901230489 Warsaw PAP in English
2246 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 29—The extraordinary commission for the introduction of the economic reform refused here Sunday to accept government's report on the implementation of special powers for the Council of Ministers within the period of last November 12-December 31. The commission said that the report failed to give grounds for being examined by the Sejm and unanimously decided to ask the Sejm Presidium to withdraw this point from the agenda of the Sejm meeting this January 30-31.

The commission stressed that despite its earlier demands, the report failed to contain the effects of decisions made by the government on the merging, dividing and liquidating of state enterprises neither did it present the criteria of individual decisions and the expected results.

Daily Comments on Party Plenum, Reform

AU2801164689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
23 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Zygmunt Slomkowski commentary: "We Are a Party of Reform and Progress"]

[Excerpts] The value and importance of even the best expressed resolutions can only be measured by the degree to which they conform to real conditions and needs, and then by the degree to which they are implemented. This is an objective truth, but it took a long time for our party to learn this truth and learn to take it into consideration during the formulation of its programmatic line. We applied this truth for the first time at the Ninth PZPR Congress, in stormy 1981. The next step forward was the 10th Congress. But before that congress, we experienced martial law, and although not everyone will agree with me, the words that were written and said at that time should also be included in the process of learning and drawing conclusions.

That is why the course and decisions of the 10th plenum can only be assessed against the background of our party's experiences and political achievement. What happened between 16 and and 18 January was not a sudden occurrence, but the premeditated conclusion of a historic process that took 8 years, and was accelerated during the last 2 or 3 years. During this period, our party grew more mature, revalued some of its thinking, and, despite many inconsistencies in implementing its decisions, became a party of reform and of democratic sociopolitical life in Poland. That cannot be denied.

The party's self-transformation was not a painless process, and no wonder. On the one hand, it is not easy to abandon old habits and methods of action, especially old ways of seeing things, and reject things which were considered sacred for a long time.

On the other hand, the process of change had to cause a certain amount of unrest and even create opposition to this change, as a result of the events of 1981 and other periods, when it became clear that changes to socialism can pave the way for attacks by people who want to eradicate socialism altogether, even at the cost of the country's development and future.

This unrest and opposition manifested itself in the changes to the party leadership and the energy of the plenum debates, although the main question addressed to the plenum was not whether to make changes, but how to do so. The variety of the views presented at the plenum show that our party is once again teeming with life as a political organism, and that PZPR restructuring is no longer an objective, but a real process. [passage omitted]

The giant step made by the party at the 10th plenum does not mean that every obstacle has been removed. Various obstacles will still occur. But further decisions or action by the central party authorities will no longer be enough to remove them. Removing them is now a task for every single party member, especially in places where there are people who hold different or even hostile views, where party members belong to representative bodies, and where we discharge our professional duties on a daily basis.

The new situation is based on the fact that we are faced with a daily political struggle for a new shape of socialism, for the full implementation of the program of reform and democratization under conditions never encountered since the second half of the 1940's.

We have embarked upon a new road. We know where it is going, but we cannot foresee the obstacles on it now. The 10th plenum provided the party with the paths and

methods of action, the effectiveness of which depends on all of us, on our desire and ability to act for the sake of attaining the objectives laid down in the Central Committee decisions.

Sejm Speaker Interviewed on 30 Jan Session

LD2901211989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Interview with Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] (?Next) week, on Monday morning the Sejm speaker will open the next session of the Sejm by tapping the speaker's mace three times against the floor. Mr Speaker, first of all, the discussion will be about money.

[Malinowski] Also about money, but first of all the discussion will concern economic policy, further reforming the economy, and last but not least, money. During this session, stress will be laid on the economic policy, because it is connected with the draft program for consolidating the national economy. The commissions here have submitted a number of remarks, and this opinion will be presented collectively. That is in a critical way, by the economic planning, budget and finances commissions. [words indistinct] to oblige the government to take into its consideration the opinions and remarks in the Sejm. I think we will have to have another session at the end of February, to finally settle a number of issues, including the issue concerning the electoral law.

[Correspondent] It is openly said that the elections will be held earlier than the electoral law envisioned.

[Malinowski] It is intended, if possible, to hold the election earlier. I would like to recall that the normal date for the eleciton should be in the last 10 days of November. I think that speeding up the elections is also significant from the point of view of the qualitative changes occurring in Poland. I also think that there appears a process this year of a breakthrough in the sociopolitical reforms, also in that Polish diversity, in an organized form, which could fully participate in the elections to the next Sejm, and that the Sejm—possible fully—reflected the full sociopolitical specter of this Polish diversity. In such a way this diversity will become, should become, a more constructive force, enriching and jointly creating progress in Poland, widening the social basis of exercising the authority and of reforms, creating conditions for this desired great coalition of the reforming power in Poland.

This is our national need, and I think that our traditions are also favorable because Poland has always been a tolerant state. We took our various historical turns rather harmoniously at relatively low cost if we compare other countries and their history. There are. I think, favorable historical premises for the Polish historical compromise, but it also ensues from our national need. There must be the first principle that all the sides of the Polish national agreement compromise were directed by the supreme interest of Poland. The second principle: the agreement should lead to cooperation, to joint decisionmaking, coresponsibility, to speeding up also radical solutions of the economic reform, because there is our common opportunity in it. The third principle: in talks, in activities one has to reach consensus, avoid demagogy and also to lift oneself over various animosities, emotions, and obstinacy, to create platforms for cooperation and agreement, preserving one's identity in high political culture, with respect for the partner and reaching consensus by inevitable compromises. If these three principles are observed practically by all the sides we will all win, Poland will win, the nation will win. If we do not jointly observe these principles then we may also jointly lose a lot.

[Correspondent] Almost everybody today is aware that we are on the proper path but nothing is a foregone conclusion. Mr Speaker, do we have sufficiently good electoral laws on the basis of which these early elections could be held?

[Malinowski] There are various projects, discussions are being held. The draft for the electoral law will also be one of the subjects of the roundtable deliberations. [words indistinct] together with the draft law on associations, which will create legal conditions for organizing [words indistinct] so that the representatives of these diverse groups could also run for the future Sejm.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] half a year, maybe diffcult with respect to the economy, certainly difficult, but politically promising.

[Malinowski] Politically promising, because if we succeed in reaching agreement, then I think we will create conditions for implementing the reform. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers Issues Economic Decree

AU2901164089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jan 89 p 6

["Council of Ministers Decree of 31 December 1988 on Payments Into the State Budget for Violations of the Rules Applicable to Material-Technical Supplies"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 36, Point 1 of the 26 February 1982 Socioeconomic Planning Act, the following is hereby decreed:

1. Economic units which fail to observe the trade restrictions applicable to materials and means of transportation will pay into the state budget 50 percent of the value of these commodities that are in their possession.

2. The payments referred to in Paragraph 12 apply to:

1) Manufacturers of materials and means of transportation subject to compulsory trade mediation that have sold their products directly and thus avoided this mediation;

2) Foreign trade enterprises that have exported more goods than the quantities that are specified in annual balance sheets and failed to gain the approval of the minister for foreign economic cooperation;

3) Trade outlets that have failed to create a financial reserve in the balance sheets referred to in Point 2;

4) Bodies acting as trade intermediaries that have sold commodities subject to compulsory trade mediation without first guaranteeing a full satisfaction of the demands posed by government orders and the country's defense and security.

The payments discussed in Paragraph 1 are extraordinary losses, and will be placed at the disposal of the fiscal office which deals with the financial affairs of the seller of these commodities.

3. Economic units are obliged to pay the sums mentioned in Paragraph 1 every 6 months; by the 20th day of the month following the end of the 6-month period.

4. Should an economic unit fail to pay on time, the appropriate control body will inform the Material Economy Inspectorate and enforce payment, in which case the Inspectorate will increase the payment by 100 percent.

5. An economic unit in a situation discussed in paragraph 4 may appeal to the minister of internal trade within 14 days of the date of the Material Economy Inspectorate's decision. The minister of internal trade's decision is final.

6. Council of Ministers decree of 24 January 1986 on payments into the state budget for violations of the rules applicable to material-technical supplies is hereby void.

7. This decree is valid immediately.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Jaruzelski Chairs Consultative Council Session

LD2901204489 Warsaw PAP in English
1703 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 29—The Consultative Council of the Council of State met yesterday at the Belweder Palace for its 10th session, chaired by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The council heard information on the forthcoming "round table" talks which was presented in a general outline by Stanislaw Ciosek. The consultative council accepted with satisfaction the fixing of the date of the "round table" talks and expressed hope that these talks would lead to a socio-political accord based on a strong foundation of patriotism of issues linking Poles standing above differences of political attitudes and world outlooks.

Opening the debate, Wojciech Jaruselski stressed the council members' sensitivity in regard to various phenomena taking place in the Polish reality. Stands and assessments, signals and remarks presented were helpful in taking up various decisions, in working out new solutions in the political, social and economic life.

In the course of a many-hour-long exchange of views, which as usually was lively and polemic, the council members arrived at the conclusion that the to-date principles of the council's activity worked. The council has become a significant link of the broadly understood political pluralism. By its activity it wished to contribute to the progress in national agreement which today yields the idea of the "round table".

During the debates, the participants forwarded proposals on the next topics which chould be worked on by the council in the nearest future. Among the topics mentioned were: the new shape of Poland's Constitution, assessment of the status and shape of Polish intelligentsia, development of representative system, problems of law and order, issues of ownership, the new model of labour culture and the vision of the republic of tomorrow.

TRYBUNA LUDU Chief Editor Interviewed

AU3001091989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
25 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Majka, chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU, by Pavol Minarik: "Searching for New Ways and for New Allies"—date, place not given]

[Text] Jerzy Majka, chief editor of the fraternal daily, TRYBUNA LUDU, organ of the PZPR Central Committee, is currently visiting Czechoslovakia. In connection with this we asked him for an interview.

[Minarik] In Warsaw a week ago ended the 10th session of the PZPR Central Committee devoted to reforms in the party and in the whole of society. In what was its extraordinary significance?

[Majka] Figuratively speaking, in our party it was necessary to even out our ranks so that we could advance forward in unison even more quickly than until now. Recently in Poland events have developed at a fast pace, this being an objective necessity for the processes taking place in our country. For example, while in the economy we can be content with the rate of growth in the productivity of labor and in national income, at the same time, supplies to the marketplace and therefore automatically also to the population are deteriorating. This proves the fact that the structure of our economy requires in-depth

and accelerated changes. For in its present structure even a dynamically developing economy will not be capable of satisfying growing nationwide needs.

We have observed similar phenomena also in political life. We have observed, too, that the potential of the processes developed up till now is exhausted. Essentially, with the methods we have used so far we have enlisted all the allies that we could enlist. As partners in a possible dialogue there still remained people of different opinions, with whom it is necessary to talk and reach agreement. At the same time we realize that they hold other opinions and want to stick by them. Therefore we had to find new approaches towards national understanding, broader and more open than up to now. Although in recent years a significant advancement in the development of democratic processes in the political system has taken place in the PPR, some bureaucratic habits still remain and present a natural impediment weakening the significance of the processes of change. All of this does not only concern the economy or politics but also the party itself.

For many years the PZPR was used to supplanting the work of state management organs. Today, however, we must transfer to political guidance the processes which are taking place in our country. The party must step back from immediate administrative management. The PZPR Central Committee adopted a standpoint on all of this at the 10th session.

[Minarik] W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said after the session that it could significantly contribute to changing the situation in the country, to the creation of a new political map in Poland. What are we to understand by this?

[Majka] Today Poland faces a dialogue with those forces of opposition that want to function within the framework of the socialist constitutional order in the PPR. From these discussions a new political form ought to begin to take shape, manifesting itself as pluralism. That means the creation of a new political map will manifest itself in the existence of associations, political clubs, and organizations representing various currents, among them opposition currents. They will probably participate in this year's elections to the Sejm. They will propose their own candidates in them. That means that after the elections the Sejm will have an obviously different composition from that in the past. Beside the representatives of the coalition forces (PZPR, SD and ZSL) and people not affiliated with any party—who up until now, however, have not been absent in the Sejm—there will also be representatives of groups which consider themselves as opposition groups.

[Minarik] In this connection the PZPR Central Committee adopted a stance on the question of political and trade union pluralism in Poland. What does this imply for the party and the whole of society?

[Majka] Society expected from the party that it would adopt a stance on the fact that in essence pluralism in the PPR already exists and is a real fact. However, the question was phrased otherwise: what does this imply for the PZPR and society. The first conclusion in our standpoint is that in a legal form pluralism ought to manifest itself on the podium of parliament or in other legislative organs; in no way, however, in the form of bitter conflicts dividing the workers, which would transfer the political struggle onto the factory floor and so on.

[Minarik] That means that the inception of political and trade union pluralism is conditional on certain principles being observed?

[Majka] Of course. At issue is the question that pluralism should be a constructive force which by its critical view on development and events can help perfect the political system, adopting optimum decisions. However, before the legal way is open to it, there must be an assurance that all forces will observe the legal code. Further, that none of the political forces which are making use of the new forms of political activity will try to hold back economic reforms, destabilize the economy, or whip up anarchy and chaos in the country. Also, that these forces will be guided exclusively by Polish interests and will not use financial resources from subversive Western centers. That in itself already establishes their position. We expect that a constructive opposition which wants to develop its activity within the framework of the socialist system will overtly distance itself from the destructive forces striving for its overthrow.

[Minarik] What is the situation today among the ranks of the opposition?

[Majka] Significantly divided. In Poland there exist groups such as the so-called fighting "Solidarity", the so-called Confederation of an Independent Poland, and others which are overtly striving for a confrontation with the socialist system. Their activity is illegal and agreement with them is not and will not be possible. Most of these groups are paid from the West, through official or unofficial channels; for example, by the U.S. Congress which recently increased this "aid" from $1 million to $3 million a year. The majority of the opposition realizes the hopelessness of the situation in which it finds itself and wants to legally participate in the political activity in the country. Today L. Walesa himself says that Poland does not need strikes right now. Even he in a certain sense is distancing himself from these groups. But meanwhile it is not a question of some consistently divided points of view. It is necessary to look on it as a process that is mellowing. However, it will still be necessary to overcome many obstacles on this road, for the events of 1980-1981 are still constantly within living memory.

[Minarik] What are we to understand under the formula of trade union pluralism, which was also discussed at the session? What does it demand and what is expected from it?

[Majka] In its attitude to trade union pluralism the party relies on the principle that the trade unions will operate just as the workers want them to do. With regard to progress in political dialogue and the democratization of life and to the needs of the country's development the party Central Committee is in favor of removing the restrictions on forming new trades unions, which is contained in the law on trade unions of October 1982 and which resulted from the serious political and economic situation of 1980-1981. The new organizational form of trade union and political pluralism will depend on the further development of social dialogue, the process of national agreement, and the results achieved at the roundtable. There, conditions, methods, and a timetable must be adopted for implementing trade union pluralism and creating the way for new trade unions, including "Solidarity". Let us emphasize that even this is conditional on observing the constitution, the legal code, and retreating from steps which would lead to anarchy in the economy and the whole state. All of this requires thrashing out the problem between the existing trade union organization, OPZZ, which has a membership base of millions, and the supporters of Lech Walesa, and possibly other partners. That means between those who today in the PPR comprise the trade union movement and also those who want to comprise it. A breakthrough will also be needed in the question of the agreement on wage demands. Today the Polish economy is not capable of withstanding a wave of such demands. It would be disastrous for the economy and its reforms.

[Minarik] Most of the aforementioned problems should be resolved at the roundtable. Do there exist fears that in certain important points agreement will not be reached?

[Majka] As we are considering and thinking about an agreement, we cannot develop ideas in the direction: What will happen if an understanding is not reached? We are counting on the items which were outlined at the 10th party session to establish conditions for the process of dialogue and agreement. I personally am an optimist and hold the view that in the spirit of dialogue the point of view of both sides will take shape. The aforementioned points provide broad, realistic and, I think, also acceptable possibilities for all.

[Minarik] What now are the main tasks for the party?

[Majka] Although up till now we have discussed mainly political questions, the most important task that faces the whole of Poland, and therefore the PZPR, is achieving progress in the economy. The most important thing is that this year there is a significant improvement in supplies and a slow down of inflationary processes. It is not realistic that we could halt them completely, but we must slow them down, for in the meantime they are destroying all the beneficial things that reform has brought us. Moreover, the social guarantees of society are threatened. They bring with them a wave of demands for increased wages and so on. There are several ways in which we want to solve this extremely pressing problem. I hope that we will begin to have some success in this area. Finally, no less important is the drawing up of new principles for the electoral code in the PPR and our political campaign prior to the parliamentary elections. Positive experiences from this stage could contribute to opening the way to more abundant organizational forms of political life in our country.

[Minarik] What is the role and place of TRYBUNA LUDU in this process?

[Majka] Our role is to present matters and problems as they are in reality. To point out from where various dangers and threats in our national economy come. Also to popularize good experiences, solutions that bring about positive results in daily life. To support the progressive solutions in the reform, which often come up against great obstacles. We try to hammer into the workers the new principles of economic thinking. We offer support for the efforts of government on restructuring the national economy. We keep an open mind so that the worker in a socialist enterprise really feels that he is in his own enterprise. Meanwhile the system of self-management has not brought changes for the better in this direction. It is necessary to seek such approaches whereby socialist ownership could be transformed to a certain degree into the ownership of a working collective. I think that the Soviet experience with the leasing of departments, sections, or even whole enterprises is one of the solutions. But we in TRYBUNA LUDU are opening the way to further attempts or experiments as well, and not only in this but also in dozens of other spheres.

Joint Government-Episcopate Commission Meeting

AU2801200489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 89 p 2

[PAP report: "The Joint Government-Episcopate Commission Meets"]

[Text] The Joint Commission of Representatives of the Government and the Episcopate held its 44th session on 23 January. Views were exchanged on the sociopolitical changes that are currently taking place in Poland and on the possibility of finding solutions that would enhance the well-being of the country and would serve to unite the nation's energies.

The commission discussed the state of work on legislation that would fully regulate relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church. The commission noted that the responsible working group had taken account of the recommendations made at the commission's last meeting, that it had completed work on substantive provisions of the planned law on the position of the state with respect to the Roman Catholic Church and had now started work on final and interim regulations. The commission examined questions connected with this part of the document that were submitted by the group and provided guidelines for the completion of work.

The commission also examined a draft law on social insurance for members of the clergy that would apply to all churches and other religious associations. It is currently the subject of consultations between the Office of Religious Affairs and the authorities of the various Christian churches.

The third document to be examined was a draft accord on the status of papal colleges in Poland. This applies to: the Papal Theological Academy in Krakow; the papal theological departments at Wroclaw, Poznan, and Warsaw; and the philosophy department of the Society of Jesus in Krakow. At present their status is not defined under the PPR legal system.

The commission approved the draft accord.

Viewed together, the convention between the PPR and the Holy See and the three aforementioned legal documents—two laws and an accord—will promote the harmonious development of relations between church and state.

The joint commission expressed its gratitude to the working groups that had drawn up the documents, noting that their work had not only called for important specialist skills, but also the will and ability to solve difficult problems, problems that were often without precedent.

Nawacki Named New Labor Under Secretary

AU2901164289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Chronicle of Cadre Changes"]

[Text] On the recommendation of the minister of labor and social policy, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Leslaw Nawacki under secretary of state for this ministry.

Leslaw Nawacki was born in 1949 in Gliwice, to a family of workers. He studied at Warsaw University, where he earned a degree in administration. He began his working life at the Gliwice Urban Engineering Combine as a senior clerical officer in 1969. From 1972 to 1973 he was a senior specialist at the Gliwice electrical installations enterprise. From 1974 to 1982 he served as office director of the Main Board of the Trade Union of Transport and Road Workers. In 1982 he moved to the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Policy as chief specialist. In this ministry he became director of the Department of Labor Organization, and then director of the Office for Cooperation With Trade Unions and Worker Self-Management Bodies. From 1987 he served as director of the labor law department.

He belongs to the PZPR, and is married, with two sons.

Rakowski Speaks at Cyrankiewicz Funeral

LD2801200489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] The funeral of Jozef Cyrankiewicz, a former premier, took place today at the municipal, formerly military, cemetery in Powazki. Here is a report by Wojceich Marczuk.

[Marczuk] The funeral procession [word indistinct] representatives of the party's leadership and government, with Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Rakowski, Roman Malinowski, Jozef Czyrek, Kazimierz Barcikowski, and Czeslaw Kiszczak. The coffin, covered with a white and red standard, was laid on the catafalque near the grave. Jozef Cyrankiewicz was laid next to his mother. Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski took leave at the open grave of Jozef Cyrankiewicz.

[Begin Rakowski recording] Over the coffin of the former premier of Poland, my close comrade, the last leader of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), I would like to state that the PZPR, of which Cyrankiewicz was a joint creator, will reevaluate the PPS's achievements in its genealogy and in its policy.

A particularly important place is held by the period in which Cyrankiewicz held the position of the premier of the Polish People's Republic. They were not easy years for him. He was aware of all the disadvantages as well as the internal and external conditions. He calculated his every step after a careful analysis of reality, he directed himself by knowledge and instinct. Emotions were likewise not foreign to him. He was aware of all the disadvantages as well as the internal and external conditions. He calculated his every step after a careful analysis of reality, he directed himself by knowledge and instinct. Emotions were likewise not foreign to him. Sometimes he made mistakes but who is free of mistakes and errors? In the activity of the premiership of Jozef Cyrankiewicz, his noble and humane characteristics, as well as his great contribution in the strengthening of European peaceful relations, in the permanent securing of Polish national interests prevail. Thus let us lower our heads and standards over the coffin of a great Pole, let us take leave (?in concentration) of an eminent state and party activist, a symbol of the unity of the Polish left in the postwar years. [end recording]

PAP Comments on Warsaw Pact Statement

LD2901201889 Warsaw PAP in English 1848 GMT 29 Jan 89

[By PAP commentator Stanislaw Masztanowicz]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 29—The defence ministers committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty published data on manpower of the Armed Forces and armaments

in Europe and the adjacent waters—from the Atlantic ocean to the Urals. For the first time the official data on the military potential of the socialist defensive coalition were disclosed.

The significance of the fact can be hardly overestimated, it manifests a new stage in the international relations characterized by glasnost in the information policy. As the statement reads, it creates, i.a., a possibility for focussing attention on the necessity to give the disarmament negotiations more realistic and substantial character.

The Warsaw Treaty presented also the assessment of the NATO forces in Europe and adjacent waters and drawing attention to the existing disproportions and asymetry, it underscored the great concentration of Armed Forces in this region of the world. The statement stresses that it is necessary to radically cut back the level of the concentration.

The Warsaw Treaty comes down in favour of eliminating the existing disproportions and asymmetry, of a relevant reduction of Armed Forces and conventional weapons on our continent, of development and expansion of confidence measures. Thus the statement's guiding principle is in tune with the main ideas of the Jaruzelski plan.

Thatcher on 1988 Events, Mutual Relations

AU3001133589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher by RZECZPOSPOLITA: "Common Roots"—date, place not given]

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] Which of last year's events in Great Britain had the greatest significance for the country's future?

[Thatcher] I consider the most important events to be the conclusion of the very extensive government legislation program that was scheduled to be implemented during the first year of the new parliament that was elected in 1987. This program contained many of the most radical reforms in the history of our country in the spheres of education, housing construction, and local government. These reforms are encouraging our country's transformation for the sake of the future, toward greater possibilities and a greater choice.

This process will be continued in 1989, together with a further program of reforms, which includes in particular the privatization of our electricity industry and water supply. We do not think the government and country should run these services. They will become more efficient and more valuable to consumers if they are run according to market principles. This will make it possible for more people to have shares, more than the 20 percent of the population that possesses shares at present. All this is part of the radical changes in our economy toward greater freedom and enterprise—and toward democracy based on the possession of capital. All this is occurring in a period of growing prosperity, which has assured our society of a higher standard of living than ever before.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What is Great Britain's attitude toward the building of a common European home?

[Thatcher] I completely agree with the view that Europe's borders extend beyond the EC considerably. Europe is far older than the Treaty of Rome. I said during my Warsaw visit that the first step that ought to be taken is to eliminate existing divisions, especially the Berlin Wall, before we can really talk about building from scratch. Certainly the best way to implement this idea is to concentrate on practical cooperation between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe in such spheres as communications, environmental protection, and industry. Cooperation like this surely lies in the interests of each partner. Mr Gorbachev also said clearly that the concept of a common European home also includes the United States and Canada, which is a helpful factor.

However, this is not enough. If the idea of a common European home is to assume real shape, we must have a Europe in which people, ideas, and resources can be distributed freely and naturally; a Europe in which everyone enjoys fundamental human rights, and in which the freedom of choice, which Mr Gorbachev described as a "universal principle" in his UN speech, is reality for all the peoples of Europe. That is what we want to build in Europe, and we are acting in this direction through the CSCE process.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] How are the prospects for our bilateral relations assessed in Great Britain?

[Thatcher] I think my visit to Poland last year was an important one, and provided our relations with a new basis. I have in mind not only official contacts, even though they are important. I also have in mind contacts between individuals and various kinds of cultural, academic, and institutional links. As for the economy, we are ready to render practical support for your reforms. But, and I underlined this in Warsaw, the economic reforms cannot succeed without greater political freedom and greater responsibility.

Both our countries also have a major role to play in eliminating the barriers between the East and West. I discussed with General Jaruzelski our possible paths of cooperation in this regard. I hope that 1989 will bring certain practical results. Poland's roots are as deeply embedded in Europe as ours. My visit brought this truth home to me more than ever before. We must never forget this.

Urban, Gerasimov Hold Moscow News Briefing

AU2901211989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jan 89 p 7

[PAP report: "Joint News Conference by Jerzy Urban and Gennadiy Gerasimov in Moscow: What Is Happening in Poland?"]

[Text] PAP—Over 100 Soviet and foreign journalists accredited to the USSR came to the Soviet Foreign Ministry press center on Tuesday [24 January] to meet Jerzy Urban, PPR Government spokesman, in Moscow, at the invitation of the Soviet Foreign Ministry; and Gennadiy Gerasimov; Soviet Foreign Ministry press spokesman.

This joint news conference was organized as a result of the interest caused in the USSR by the changes taking place in Poland, especially in light of the 10th plenum.

J. Urban acquainted the journalists with the contents of the documents adopted by this dramatic, as he called it, PZPR Central Committee plenum. He said that this plenum marks a turning point in Polish domestic policy. The Polish authorities approached this turning point step by step, while pursuing the policy of accord that was certified by General W. Jaruzelski on 13 December 1981.

As recently as 2 years ago, the Western press was presenting Jaruzelski as the Pinochet of the East, said J. Urban. As recently as 2 weeks ago, Rakowski was termed the avowed enemy of "Solidarity."

Following this detailed introduction, which also described the economic reforms and the government's latest moves, Jerzy Urban answered a dozen or so questions about the situation in Poland.

Did Mikhail Gorbachev have a bearing on the plenum's decisions? No, J. Urban replied. Just like all other decisions, our party reached these decisions independently, without consulting Moscow. However, we did find ways of informing interested Soviet leaders about the dramatic course and outcome of the plenum.

As far as Mikhail Gorbachev is concerned, continued J. Urban, he has played a major role in the Polish changes, meaning the political substance and atmosphere of his Polish visit last year. This visit did help modify the political line pursued by a major part of the opposition.

The journalists wanted to know what the PPR Government spokesman thought of "Solidarity's" reaction to the 10th plenum. My assessment of this reaction is positive, J. Urban replied. "Solidarity" has issued a statement saying that it is ready to sit down at the "roundtable," and that it expects all parties belonging to our social arena to place the country's welfare above their own parochial interests. "Solidarity" declares a desire to act in accordance with the law; assures us that the possibility of broad joint activity is now emerging; welcomes the party's support for pluralism, a more democratic social life, and the freedom to associate; and says that the "roundtable" talks should begin as quickly as possible. At the same time, this very same statement contains an entire series of demands which indicate the attitude with which "Solidarity" intends to come to the "roundtable."

What is the attitude of Poles toward the USSR? In reply to this question from a Soviet journalist, Minister Urban presented the results of one of the latest opinion polls. When asked whether the USSR or United States is doing more for world disarmament, 45 percent of the respondents said the USSR, 5 percent said the United States, and 41 percent answered that both countries are displaying good will. As far as an assessment of Soviet-Polish relations is concerned, J. Urban continued, 44 percent of Poland's adult population, taking part in an opinion poll last November, thought that these relations were very good, 8 percent thought they were bad, and 27 percent said they were neither good nor bad. Some 60 percent of respondents said they like the USSR, 21 percent said they did not, and 17 percent had no comment. As for opinions about Mikhail Gorbachev? Almost 80 percent said they like him, 5.2 percent said they do not, and 13 percent had no comment. When asked which world leader they respect the most, 59.4 percent mentioned Gorbachev, 37.4 percent said John Paul II, 2.3 percent said Reagan, and 20 percent said Thatcher. Attitudes toward Gorbachev's politics? Some 68 percent supported Gorbachev's politics, 1.1 percent did not, 18 percent were indifferent to his politics, and 12 percent were unable to reply. Gorbachev's attitude toward Poland? Some 70 percent said that Gorbachev was kindly disposed toward Poland, 1.7 percent said he was not, and the remainder were not sure.

Commenting on these results, Minister Urban gave an assurance that the attitude of Poles toward the Soviet Union is much better today than it was a few years ago, when, to use his own words, various myths and prejudices were concealed beneath an official layer of icing.

When asked about the outcome of the Polish premier's visit to the FRG, J. Urban said that Premier Rakowski was very pleased with this visit and had considered it very successful. Every West German politician he had spoken to, including Chancellor Kohl, said that a breakthrough was taking place in FRG-Polish relations. Before the visit, we merely expressed a desire for this breakthrough, and tried to aim for it. However, such a breakthrough calls for an examination of a whole series of political and economic problems. In order to solve them together, both governments have appointed plenipotentiaries to conduct these talks. A schedule of meetings is being drawn up. Our foreign minister will visit Bonn in March. When some sort of agreement has been reached in these talks, one can expect Chancellor Kohl to visit Poland, and not too far in the future. His visit would be an opportunity to review Polish-FRG relations in their entirety.

In reply to the next question, Minister Urban assessed the picture of Poland as it is portrayed in the Soviet media. This picture is real and legible, he said. It is a completely different picture compared to what it was before. The Soviet press is presenting various points of view on Polish affairs, with a great degree of knowledge about the Polish reality.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, cohost of the Tuesday news conference, was asked what conclusions the CPSU is drawing from events in Poland over the past decade. He replied that each country is building socialism in its own way and according to its own pattern. The CPSU is examining the experiences of other countries in order to adopt those that seem to be the most useful. For this purpose, we are also examining the Polish experiences, he said.

To this, J. Urban interrupted, I would like to add the fact that Polish ideas are not export commodities. Their quality has not been tested.

When asked for an opinion about the recent border incident between Poland and the GDR, and about the latest occurrences at border crossings, J. Urban said he did not think that a government spokesman should comment on these matters. I believe that the emotions aroused by various incidents involving customs officials on our borders are excessive. Customs regulations simply have to be adapted to the increasing tourist traffic and to the market-financial situation in our countries.

I think this is a matter for CEMA to discuss, G. Gerasimov added. We have read and heard a lot about socialist integration, which is turning into disintegration before our very eyes. I think that the creation of a single socialist market is a major task for CEMA, said G. Gerasimov.

Journalists also asked about the status of talks on the subject of raising relations between Poland and the Vatican to a new level. Minister Urban said that the provisions of a convention which would permit these relations to be upgraded to the ambassadorial level are being prepared. There could be direct talks between the Polish Government and the Vatican today, J. Urban said. The Polish Government is ready for these talks.

When asked how Polish society reacted to the plenum, J. Urban said that most people were very pleased. In the party, however, opinions are divided, but most party members support the plenum results. On the other hand, the OPZZ is the chief center of dissatisfaction. J. Urban explained that the details concerning a future trade union model in Poland will be discussed by one of the trouble-shooting teams during the "roundtable." This team will consist mainly of OPZZ representatives. In other words, no one is going to make a decision about them without their participation.

Another question asked about the plan to withdraw some of the Soviet forces stationed in Poland. With the approval of the Polish authorities, several regiments and several smaller units will be withdrawn this year, and one brigade next year, J. Urban said. He added that the details of this will be established during Polish-Soviet negotiations.

Bednarski Interviewed on Polish-Soviet Relations

AU2801192789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Henryk Bednarski, chairman of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, by Anna Pawlowska: "More Than One Shape of Freedom"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Pawlowska] The 12th Congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society commences on 27 January. The last congress was 5 years ago. Like every other organization in Poland, the society is seeking the best way of taking part in the reform. How can one summarize the 5 years since that congress?

[Bednarski] When our society was founded, the decision to join it was clearly a political and ideological one. Later there came a period of grand gestures and empty words. The most important task then was to give the society an authentic nature; to increase the society's contacts with people, instead of with institutions. It is not institutions that establish friendship with each other, but people. That was the main change. The prestige of being a member increased as a result.

[Pawlowska] How is the Polish population really disposed toward the Soviet Union, and how does the society think it is disposed?

[Bednarski] Society's attitude is extremely varied. That can be plainly seen. There are historical prejudices which no one can ignore. On the other hand, the older generation can remember where liberation from the occupation came from. There are permanent and valuable social links between the two societies, including between families. And there is also a burden left over from the time when one had to "love the Soviet Union." There are the so-called blank spots, the heritage of Stalinism, and the attempts to stir up anti-Soviet feeling. There is a veritable mixture of good and bad sentiment. Only when one realizes all this can one appreciate the significance of the latest period.

[Pawlowska] The period of perestroyka?

[Bednarski] Everything that is happening in the Soviet Union right now is causing a great amount of interest in Poland and the world. Great hopes are attached to the Soviet Union's international activity and the new philosophy of peace and cooperation. The "Declaration on Ideological, Scientific, and Cultural Cooperation," signed by our party and the CPSU in April 1987, was a

great event. I do not think we fully understand the significance of this document yet. It presents a chance to remove various deformities from Polish-Soviet relations. [passage omitted]

If our generation has the chance to eliminate the bad vestiges of the past, this chance must not be wasted. Our society certainly has a role to play here. We will consider this role at the 12th congress.

Daily on Possible Breakthrough in PPR-FRG Ties
AU2801201689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 89 p 7

[Commentary by Daniel Lulinski, permanent correspondent in Bonn: "Signs of a Breakthrough"]

[Text] Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski—the first head of a Polish Government to visit Bonn—completed his 4-day unofficial visit to the FRG on Monday [23 January]. The visit has produced signs that augur a breakthrough in mutual relations between the two states, which is something that will also determine prospects for an official visit to Poland by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, followed by a visit by Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker, before the end of this year.

The head of the PPR Government arrived in Bonn on 20 January at the invitation of the FRG president to take part in celebrations in honor of Willy Brandt's 75th birthday. This "birthday diplomacy," as the FRG press called the gathering of almost 50 politicians from East and West in connection with Brandt's birthday, provided an opportunity—indeed, it was meant to—for bilateral talks. The Polish premier not only spoke to leading FRG politicians, but also held talks with the president of France, the heads of the Governments of Sweden and Norway, and the vice prime minister of Israel. He held 16 political meetings and talks altogether.

The head of the Polish Government's first talks with Chancellor Kohl were awaited with great interest. These were not negotiations, but both sides are perfectly acquainted with their respective positions, the issues that are the subject of contention, and the questions that caused relations to stagnate last year.

The FRG Government was unable to formulate a political standpoint that would have taken account of Polish economic interests and needs, and plans for adjusting the repayment of our debts to suit our means. Bonn's position of holding back was undoubtedly dictated by its assessment of the Polish domestic situation and the effects of the April and August strikes, but it also impacted negatively on the Club of Paris' (our creditors) position with regard to our debt problems.

Our premier's impression following his talks with Chancellor Kohl was that the West German side now genuinely wants to see a breakthrough in relations with Poland and the settlement of the questions about which disagreement still exists. The talks held by the Polish visitor with the FRG president and other leading FRG politicians produced a similar impression. Both sides affirmed that there should be a breakthrough in 1989, which sees the 50th anniversary of Hitler's invasion of Poland and the outbreak of World War II. Leading FRG representatives stressed that this anniversary is of great, enduring political and moral significance for them and for their society.

Thus, the premier and the chancellor agreed that they would speed up the resolution of the questions that remained open by appointing personal plenipotentiaries. It was announced in Bonn on 23 January that they are to be Horst Teltschik, the chancellor's foreign affairs adviser and a department director in the FRG Chancellery, and, on the Polish side, Ernest Kucza, director of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department. They are to create the appropriate conditions for the first visit to Poland by a Christian-Democrat FRG chancellor (probably during the first half of this year). The FRG president, who said that the second step should only come after the first one has been taken, would visit Poland at some later stage during the year. A visit by an FRG head of state—the first in the history of mutual relations—must be supported by more political substance and greater cooperation between the two states, so that it acquires a long-term significance.

The chancellor and the premier stressed that their exchange of views set out prospects for the development of relations in all areas. Statements by the FRG side suggest that Bonn will adopt a favorable stance toward Poland at the Club of Paris. We can expect the FRG to take a new view of questions pertaining to economic and financial cooperation with our country. The premier's hosts, including members of financial and business circles, stressed that the reform-oriented changes taking place in our country, new legislation, opportunities for setting up joint ventures, and the introduction of political, social, and union pluralism are all important factors promoting internal stability, Poland's economic development, and an increase in its international standing.

The dialogue between Poland and the FRG will be continued. The PPR foreign minister will go to Bonn in the middle of March to conduct a preliminary review of the progress that is being made toward what diplomats have called the creation of conditions for a visit to Poland by the chancellor. In other words, they mean conditions for a real breakthrough in mutual relations, which is the political goal of both Warsaw and Bonn. This was forcefully confirmed during Premier Rakowski's visit to the FRG, which, although unofficial, was exceptionally productive in terms of political developments. So, the FRG media has had good reasons for according the visit so much importance.

Daily on Trouble Suffered by Polish Tourists

AU2901193589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jan 89 p 5

[Cezary Rudzinski report: "How To Avoid Trouble at the Border"]

[Text] The relaxation of Polish currency regulations, especially every Pole's right to take out up to $500 without any formalities, is causing our tourists serious trouble in the fraternal countries, especially Hungary.

We have already reported cases where Hungarian customs officers confiscated convertible currency from Poles who were transitting through Hungary, even though the Hungarians had never insisted on a currency declaration and had not made a note of the sums involved.

Now, the Main Customs Office has conveyed to us a piece of advice which it received from the Polish consulate in Budapest. "A Polish citizen transitting through Hungary and possessing foreign currency without a bank declaration should insist that the Hungarian customs officer at the point of entry into Hungary confirms and records the amount of currency being carried. If he refuses, the Polish citizen should make a note of the Hungarian customs officer's number (which he should have on his jacket breast pocket, black figures on a gold background), or his name. Should the customs officer refuse this information also, the Polish citizen should demand to be put in touch with our embassy."

We believe there is another solution to the problem. We know that the customs authorities of some countries, at present Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, insist on written customs declarations from our citizens traveling through these countries, otherwise currency and personal goods are liable to confiscation at the point of exit. There is no reason why these forms should not be available in Polish travel bureaus, for a fee, if necessary. This would save our tourists unnecessary trouble at foreign borders.

Retail Drug Prices Set To Increase 30 Jan

LD2901212389 Warsaw PAP in English 1818 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 29—Poland's Ministry of Finance announced today that retail prices of pharmaceuticals are to go up as of January 30. The scale of the price rise is differentiated.

The hitherto system of reduced rates and of providing some people (among others, pensioners) with free medicines is maintained. Thus the growth of prices will, to a large extent, be covered from funds of the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS) and the state budget as most of Polish citizens pay only 30 percent of the medicine price and 70 percent is supplied from the insurance. Also hospital patients will receive medicines free of charge as before.

Diplomatic Ties With Vatican Predicted in 89

LD2801030789 Warsaw PAP in English 0011 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 27—Asked by the TV main news bulletin to comment on the chances for establishing diplomatic relations between Poland and the Vatican, Poznan Metropolitan Archbishop Jerzy Stroba said:

"We are hopefully waiting for the talks to begin for this is the last condition. Before that, we must complete the last articles of a law that regulates the state's attitude towards the church in Poland. There should be two, three sessions at the most.

"As concerns the date of the opening of Poland's embassy in the Vatican and the Vatican Nuncio's office in Warsaw, one can expect that this will take place still this year."

Leaders' Public Appearances for 18-24 Jan

AU2801183089 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU monitored from 19 through 25 January reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

Jozef Czyrek, Czeslaw Kiszczak, and Tadeusz Olechowski were at Warsaw airport on 23 January to welcome Mieczyslaw Rakowski upon his return from the FRG. (24 Jan 89 p 7)

Marian Orzechowski and Marek Holdakowski met members of the party organization at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk to discuss the outcome of the 10th plenum on 21 January. (23 Jan 89 p 2)

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, received Jozef Havlin, CSSR ambassador, on 20 January. (21-22 Jan 89 p 2)

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, received Kazimierz Morawski, president of the Christian Social Association, on 19 January. (21-22 Jan 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member, chaired a joint session of the presidium of the Commission for People's Councils and Regional Self-Management and the Council of State Legal Commission held in Warsaw on 19 January. (20 Jan 89 p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met Polish Radio and Television employees on 18 January. (19 Jan 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met Sejm deputies on 19 January. (20 Jan 89 p 2) He delivered a letter from Jaruzelski containing birthday greetings to Ignacy Logi Sowinski, a workers movement veteran, on 20 January. (21-22 Jan 89 p 2)

Manfred Gorywoda, PZPR Politburo member and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee, met Damian Zimon, bishop of Katowice, on 20 January. (21-22 Jan 89 p 2) On the same day he attended a festive celebration to mark the anniversary of the Cuban revolution in Jaworzno, Katowice Voivodship. (21-22 Jan 89 p 4) On 23 January he attended a prize-giving ceremony in Katowice for the best memoirs written by workers movement activists. (24 Jan 89 p 2)

Iwona Lubowska, PZPR Politburo member, met railroad company workers and party members in Bielsko-Biala. (20 Jan 89 p 3) On 21 January she met party members and economic aktivs in Makow Podhalanski, Bielsko Voivodship. (23 Jan 89 p 2)

Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, chaired a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Agriculture, Food Economy, and Forestry Commission. (20 Jan 89 p 2) He visited party members and administrative officials in Glubczyce, Opole Voivodship. (20 Jan 89 p 3)

Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the OPZZ, attended a conference of heads of voivodship OPZZ organizations on 23-24 January. (25 Jan 89 p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, visited party workers in Legnice on 19 January. (20 Jan 89 p 3)

Gabriela Rembisz, PZPR Politburo member, attended a plenum of Voivodship PZPR Committee in Legnice on 23 January. (24 Jan 89 p 2)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee, met party members at the "Unitra-Cerad" plant in Warsaw on 20 January. (21-22 Jan 89 p 11) He chaired a meeting of the Warsaw Commission for PZPR, ZSL, and SD Cooperation. (24 Jan 89 p 9)

Zygmunt Czarzasty, PZPR Central Committee secretary, visited various plants and institutions in Slupsk Voivodship to discuss the outcome of the 10th plenum. (21-22 Jan 89 p 5)

Leszek Miller, PZPR Central Committee secretary, met the work force of the "Bumar-Warynski" plant in Warsaw to discuss the 10th plenum on 20 January. (21-22 Jan 89 p 5) He answered questions from the readers of TRYBUNA LUDU during a phone-in session held at the newspaper's offices. (21-22 Jan 89 p 1)

Marian Stepien, PZPR Central Committee secretary, visited Wojciech Zurowski, president of the main board of the Union of Polish Writers, on 18 January. (19 Jan 89 p 2). On 19 January he attended a meeting of the primary party organization of the Warsaw branch of the Union of Polish Writers. (20 Jan 89 p 8) On 20 January he met cultural attaches from the embassies of socialist countries and heads of information and culture centers to discuss cultural cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (21-22 Jan 89 p 4) On the same day he paid a visit to Bogdan Suchodolski, chairman of the National Culture Council. (21-22 Jan 89 p 4)

Ceausescu Sends Gorbachev Message on Earthquake

AU2801151389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jan 89 p 5

[Undated message from RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to CPSU Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev on the 23 January earthquake in the USSR's Tajik Republic]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Moscow

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Romanian people, and myself, I extend to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Communists, and all the Soviet working people our feelings of profound compassion and solidarity under these circumstances of great hardship which were caused by the important loss of human life and material losses following the new tremor that occurred on 23 January 1989 in the Tajik Republic.

We extend our feelings of profound compassion to the bereaved families.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Plan To Aid FRG Family Reunification Renewed

AU2701141689 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 27 Jan 89 p 8

["Co."-signed report: "Bucharest Promises Emigration to Germans"]

[Text] Bonn—The Bucharest government wants to continue its policy of "understanding for family reunifications" and allow 11,000 to 13,000 ethnic Germans living in Romania to emigrate to the FRG every year. This was announced by Romanian Ambassador to Bonn Marcel Dinu. Observers in Bonn concluded from this statement that an agreement has apparently been reached between the FRG and Romanian Governments on continuing the resettlement practices at the same rate. There has been no official announcement to this effect to date.

An agreement that was concluded between the FRG and Romania in 1978 and extended in 1983 expired 30 June 1988. It provided for the emigration of 11,000 to 13,000 Transylvanian Saxons every year against the payment of DM8,500 per person. After 30 June 1988, Bucharest continued to permit emigration at the previously agreed-upon rate. This has apparently been officially confirmed now. Nothing is known of German financial considerations.

Tirana Inter-Balkan Meeting Reviewed

AU2601201989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1902 GMT 26 Jan 89

["New Steps Along the Path of Expanding and Deepening Inter-Balkan Collaboration—For Organizing a Summit in Bucharest"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/01/1989—The constructive process of inter-Balkan collaboration, of developing and tightening the ties among the states in the region traversed last week a new important stage at the reunion in which participated, here in Albania's capital city, the deputy foreign ministers of the six countries in the Balkan peninsula—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey.

Proceeding under the token of continuity, of promoting the spirit of dialogue and collaboration among the states in the region, the reunion was devoted to exchanging opinions on the development of the multilateral collaboration in 1988 and to identifying new ways and possibilities of multilateral collaboration in the most diverse domains of activity. Through this, as also stressed by the chairman of Albania's Council of Ministers, Adil Carcani, in the letter he addressed the participants, and as stressed in the address of salute made by Albania's minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, as also in the addresses made by all the delegates, the forum in Albania's capital city earned the place of an important reviewing moment along the ascending path of the inter-Balkan cooperation, of the assertion of the new tendencies in the region, and at the same time of a concrete contribution, with a future, to the process of expanding the traditional ties among the states in the zone, in consensus with their joint interests and aspirations, with the cause of international peace and security.

Paying special attention to and working permanently for a wide development of the collaboration with the other Balkan states, both in the bilateral plane and in the multilateral one, to turning the region into a zone of peace and good neighbourliness, free of nuclear and chemical arms, free of foreign military bases and troops—as goals tightly related to each other—Romania has participated actively in all the recent years' actions of multilateral collaboration, speaking up for providing their organized continuity, for the institutionalization of inter-Balkan dialogue and for turning it more and more material. [sentence as received]

Romania's constant preoccupation with developing the inter-Balkan dialogue, with expanding and deepening it has been tellingly expressed by President Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal regarding organizing a summit of Balkan states in Bucharest, as a new, superior stage in the regional collaboration, meant to confer new dimensions on detente and collaboration and allow for a passage to turning the Balkans into a zone of peace, understanding, good neighbourliness and security, of progress and welfare for all the people in this part of the world.

It is in the spirit of this consistently asserted principled stand that have proceeded Romania's participation in the Tirana reunion and its active contribution to the proper progress and the successful conclusion of proceedings, writes the author of the despatch, who also reports the address made in the first day of the meeting by Romanian Deputy Foreign Minister Constantin Oancea, the head of the Romanian delegation.

Referring to the addresses made by the representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey, the author of the despatch shows the speakers to have also referred to the positive nature of the inter-Balkan collaboration, to the areas of future action, stressing the attention paid by their countries to further promoting the process of collaboration which has traversed important moments during the Belgrade reunion of foreign ministers, in February 1988, the Sofia reunion of representatives of foreign ministers, in June, and through the varied actions of collaboration, in both the governmental and the nongovernmental planes organized in recent years. The Romanian journalist also notes that the Albanian press, radio and television mirrored at length the proceedings of the forum in Tirana and noted that "the addresses of the delegations set forth the spirit of dialogue, collaboration and understanding among the Balkan states, their will to enrich and develop it".

In keeping with the positive ambience of the regional collaboration, with the new political climate which asserts itself in the Balkans, the protocol of the Tirana reunion—passed by consensus—mentions the constructive spirit of understanding in which proceeded the interview, the will and resolve of all the participant states to develop and consolidate the process of inter-Balkan collaboration based upon full equality and mutual respect, for the benefit of understanding, good neighbourliness and confidence in the zone, peace and security in the Balkans and in the European Continent. In this respect, as pointed out in the document, the participants "discussed the proposal regarding organizing in Bucharest a meeting of Balkan heads of state or government, stressing the importance of creating the conditions for its materialization".

The fact that this initiative, taken by Romania for several years, has met the consensus of the participants creates, no doubts, new prospects along the path of expanding the dialogue among the Balkan states, of turning the region into a zone of peace, cooperation and irreversible security.

In the same respect the protocol endorsed sets forth the attention paid by the participants to turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical arms, recommending that this goal should continue to be in the focus of future talks.

Bringing to the fore the preoccupation and efforts of all the Balkan states to promote unflinchingly the process of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region, the document of the reunion also carries a number of important recommendation regarding providing organized continuity to collaboration, the actions envisaged for the current year and for the ensuing period. Next, the correspondent mentions various actions to be organized by Romania in 1989 as well as those which are to take place in Ankara, Tirana, Belgrade and Athens.

The final part of the despatch reads:

Ending in good results of a nature to confer new prospcts on the inter-Balkan collaboration, the reunion in the capital of Albania stands out, beyond doubt, as a contribution to amplifying and providing continuity to the process of regional collaboration, to the ever ascending evolution of the cause of understanding and security in the zonal plane and on a wider one, in forms to meet the interests of all the participant states.

The fact that the ideas and suggestions of cooperation set forth by Romania are amply mirrored in the document endorsed proves the importance and significance of this country's constant preoccupation in point of expanding the inter-Balkan dialogue, of turning the region—so troubled in the past—into a zone of peace and collaboration, free of mass destruction arms, free of military bases and foreign troops.

In fact, in a number of statements offered exclusively to us, the heads of the participant delegations insisted on Romania's active participation in the process of inter-Balkan collaboration, on its contribution to the proper progress and successful conclusion of the current reunion.

"We collaborated very well and comprehensively with the Romanian delegation at the reunion in Tirana", stressed Muhamet Kapllani, Albania's deputy foreign minister, who presided over proceedings. "Romania manifests a constructive, positive stand, which meets our common goal to develop collaboration, understanding and good neighbourliness in the region".

After carrying brief statements made by the heads of the Hellenic, Yugoslav, Bulgarian and Turkish delegations, the despatch concludes:

Paying permanent attention to developing its relations with the other Balkan states, to materializing the recommendations endorsed by consensus, Romania will continue to work in the spirit of its principled stand, for a greater intensification of the multilateral collaboration in various domains of joint interest, for turning the south-east European space into a zone of peace, cooperation, understanding and security.

Moscow Gorkom Delegation Continues Visit

Zaykov Arrives With Delegation

AU2501171289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] A 25-member delegation of the Moscow Gorkom arrived in Belgrade this morning. The delegation is led by Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom.

In talks that have just concluded in the Belgrade City LC Committee, the host, Rados Smiljkovic, president of the City Committee, informed the guests about the adoption of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution, the constitutional changes in Serbia, the processes of democratization in the country, the vision of the LCY role, and political pluralism.

Lev Zaykov informed the host about the course of political life and restructuring. Zaykov also spoke about the role of the CPSU which, in his words, has the leading role and should retain it.

The members of the Moscow Gorkom will stay in Belgrade until 28 January.

Zaykov Conveys Gorbachev Greetings

LD2701125289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1139 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, who is in Yugoslavia in the framework of cooperation between the Belgrade and Moscow City Committees.

Lev Zaykov conveyed to the LCY Central Committee Presidium and to its president, Stipe Suvar, cordial greetings from the leadership of the CPSU and its general secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev.

In cordial talks there was a positive assessment on both sides concerning the cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU as well as overall Yugoslav-Soviet relations and it was noted that cooperation at republican, provincial, and city level makes a great contribution to their development. In this context emphasis was placed on the cooperation between Belgrade and Moscow and their party organizations.

Lev Zaykov informed Korosec of the activity of the CPSU in implementing the decisions of the 19th party conference and especially the changes in the political system of the USSR and the position and role of the party, stressing that there is no alternative to restructuring.

Stefan Korosec spoke about the situation in Yugoslavia, the efforts of the LC to stabilize conditions, as well as about the consistent implementation of the three reforms. He stressed, in particular, that these decisions of the first conference of the LCY have met with the popular support of the working class and all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and that their implementation is the sure way to overcome the economic and political difficulties.

Trade Imbalance Discussed

LD2801051089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2001 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—Dr Rados Smiljkovic, president of the Belgrade LC City Committee, had concluding talks tonight with Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow Gorkom, who is leading a Moscow party delegation on a friendly 3-day visit to our capital.

The exchange of experience and information on the latest political events in the two countries and capitals was continued in an open and friendly atmosphere. It was noted that these meetings and this kind of exchange of views help to improve understanding and relations and cooperation between our parties and peoples. During the talks, concrete forms were agreed upon regarding the expansion and improvement of party relations. Special programs of measures to promote economic, cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation were discussed as well. During the talks on rich economic cooperation with Belgrade and the SR of Serbia, which provide 41 percent of Yugoslav exports to the Soviet Union, the question of our surplus was brought up, as were the possibilities of solving this problem. It was particularly stressed that the question of imbalance can be resolved by developing new forms of activities, not reducing cooperation. Both sides pointed out that the businessmen of the two cities must take advantage of the good political relations and, disregarding the present economic difficulties, develop and expand economic cooperation raising it to a higher technological level.

Belgrade, where considerable scientific potential is concentrated, is interested in cooperation in the areas of aircraft industry, computers, pharmaceuticals, chemical industry, food technology, and tourism. The need to establish links between the economic planning organs of the two cities was also pointed out so that their firms can be included in development programs on time. Dr Rados Smiljkovic especially stressed the need to tackle technology development for the next century to improve economic cooperation. This proposal was well received by the Moscow party leader who offered either the exchange or sale of the most advanced Soviet technology. It was also agreed that the planned structure of economic exchange will be discussed again so as to make an impact on reducing the Soviet deficit.

With the aim of continuing and expanding cooperation, Lev Zaykov invited the Belgrade party leadership to visit Moscow, an invitation which was accepted with pleasure. The Moscow party delegation is leaving for Dubrovnik tomorrow where they will see cultural and historic sights.

Zaykov Ends Visit, Departs

LD2901223889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Dubrovnik, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—A CPSU delegation that has been staying in our country within the framework of the cooperation program between the party organizations of Moscow and Belgrade left Dubrovnik for the USSR today. Immediatley before leaving, the delegation members, led by Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, were bade farewell by Boris Malada, a member of the Croatian LC Central Committee and chairman of the Commission for International Relations of the Croatian LC Central Committee; Borislav Kuzmanovic, secretary of the Belgrade City Committee of the Serbian LC; and by Zelimir Uskokovic and Ivo Capalj, president and secretary respectively of the Dubrovnik Municipal Committee of the Croatian LC. Vadim Loginov, the USSR Ambassador to Yugoslavia, also saw them off.

During their 2-day stay in Dubrovnik, the members of the CPSU delegation saw the cultural and historic sights in the old city, and also visited the Dubrava Hotel and tourist center, and the Institute for the Reconstruction of Dubrovnik, the Dubrovnik summer festival. Just before leaving our country they also saw Cavtat.

Markovic Addresses SAWPY Conference 28 Jan

LD2801113289 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Speech by Premier-designate Ante Markovic at a SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium session held in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Comrade President, comrades: I thank you for making this talk possible, a talk about a program which, if I remember correctly, is the first talk of its kind in the history of our country, and which I understand as a part of democratizing our society. It is not unknown that I have been advocating, and that I advocate, the right to programs, ideas, and their implementation; the right to competition, which is the presupposition for breaking up of various types of monopolies, and, among them, cadre monopolies; and, at the same time, the right to identify ideas and people. Ideas cannot be separated from people without having major consequences for our country's development and destiny. Unfortunately, as with many other things, we are just starting out, too. So this talk does not have this character on the whole, but it will, I hope, influence the beginning of a process which will find its right dimensions in a certain period of time.

I would particularly like to stress that the program I am talking about today is not yet a complete one, because in my view a complete program must be a product of team efforts and not of one man. This is solely an introduction—to say that its formation is under way—in which, if I may thus express my desire, there is discussion and exchange of opinions about basic approaches in this particular program.

I think that we must first say something about our current crisis. The crisis is evident; there is no need to prove that to anyone. Life shows its seriousness each day.

The expressions of this crisis have been evident for many years. The growth of the social product over the last 8 or 9 years is at the level of about 0.7 percent per annum, which, regarded cumulatively, I would describe as wholly unsatisfactory, or at the bottom level of what it should be as the cumulative annual growth of the social product. Production is falling, and with negative tendencies at that. There have been no essential changes in the volume of exports. We have stagnation and decline in production efficiency, and in the level of people's real basic incomes. Development is lagging by more than one technological generation. And finally, in addition to all that, we have a huge growth in inflation, which has escalated rapidly recently.

The distinguishing features of this crisis are that in spite of continued production and development, and in spite of all sorts of restrictions—in spite of this, a huge level of inflation is still in evidence, as well as an inability to repay debts to foreign creditors for the second time in a few months. Of course, we must halt not only the crisis but also the causes of the crisis; we must know how to heal this crisis as a sickness, and that is why we must diagnose it properly—not so that we can cast the blame on someone, and certainly not so that we can chop off people's heads.

First and foremost, I would say that we must know the causes, because it is my profound conviction that an unwillingness to acknowledge one's own past, one's errors, sins, and mistakes is the best guarantee that the promised path to the future will lead us back to the very same past.

I think that we must not try to prove that the existing dogmas and delusions about the character of socialism, above all about the market, of both the integral one, the market as a part of the world market, are the principal mistakes which led to the failure of all socialisms in the world, including ours. Regardless of the fact that at the time it fought the battle with Stalinism, it was given enough strength to become emancipated and provide scope for a new process, but unfortunately it has never had the power to complete that process. As a result, today, 30 or almost 40 years later, following a period in which self-managing socialism was dominant as a basis for the type of socialism we wanted to build, we have

found ourselves almost at the very beginning. Of course, all that we have had to pay for in the meantime—and we have paid dearly for that experience—has nevertheless at leas' brought home to us which roads not to follow any longer and, on the other hand, has enabled us to attain a higher level than other socialist societies, from which to embark on resolving the contradictions in our development. In the process a major mistake was made by identifying the market—one of our civilization's main achievements, a result of mankind's development and an instrument which should not and cannot be negated without producing serious consequences—with capitalism.

As far as we are concerned, this kind of approach—of course, I have no intention of embarking now on a thorough analysis since there is no time for it, but I am saying this so as to make clear on which foundations, which concepts, and which ideology we are to develop our policy and what, in crude terms, are our basic mistakes—to the development of socialism, including our self-managing one—which, unlike other forms of socialism in which state ownership was a dominant feature was based on the nonproprietorial character of ownership—had numerous repercussions and generated the crisis which we are in today.

Adequate treatment of that nonproprietoral character of ownership implies a consensus economy, free exchange of labor—which is indeed an institution of the future—and also social ownership which is not treated as capital, with all the consequences and logic of capital and its identification have led to distribution and overflow, instead of the motivation to create new values; have led to economic and developmental voluntarism, and in the final analysis to suspension of self-management and strengthening of the role of the state, which has become the instrument by means of which politics rules society. [sentence as heard] The consequences of that crisis are long years of economic and developmental crisis, which has become a social crisis, manifesting itself in strikes; and as a result of that, political crisis, which manifests itself in people going out onto the streets. The political crisis is developing into a national one, and this latter into an intranational one, the essence of which is that wherever we turn, and regardless of who was inciting whom, the improverished hired worker is ready to destroy the existing structures of the system.

Any delay in acknowledging the crisis, inter alia, and in perceiving the causes of it—the temporal aspect—is exceptionally important for everything in our present situation. Timely understanding of where our essential problems are, where we went wrong, and perception of the causes, which would have opened up both a way of thinking and a path for seeking ways out of that situation—lack of this has meant that many solutions which we opted for came too late, and they were no longer sufficiently effective. Unfortunately, resistance of dogma, ideology, policy, the state and the apparatus; holding on to positions, and not only that, of course, but also fear of the unknown and the new, as well as an unreadiness to get down to grips with the unfamiliar—all this together led to the temporal aspect, to indeed making it questionable whether certain measures will be taken in time.

Only the crisis—which has shown due to its length and obstinacy, first that something and then that almost everything was wrong—crushed resistance. It was the best ally to those who have been fighting for changes in this society and for reforms. Unfortunately, the very same crisis was the basis of tensions and revolt among people, workers and citizens, and of an explosion of dissatisfaction leading to destruction.

What are the ways out of the crisis we are in? It is obvious that there is no solution in adjusting the existing conception, the existing system and ideology—they themselves should be changed. A completely new type of socialism should be built, self-managing of course. We must create a new concept in which unity would stem from the unity of all our nations and nationalities, with simultaneous acceptance of the uniqueness of each nation and nationality; and where this unity stemming from togetherness and uniqueness would not clash but help each other. The federation is our destiny, and we cannot look for a solution in any other way. A new type of socialism (?should be built) with man in its center, the only one capable (?of deciding his destiny) and motivated to and put in the position to decide on his or her destiny in order to decide on society's destiny and, with the market as instrument, an integrated market, which would ensure a richer and more free life.

The fundamental problem which even the most developed societies are facing is how to tackle the human factor, how to motivate man. Our self-managment socialism has its basic approach, at least in theory, and it is man as the center. Unfortunately, up to the present we have not made it possible for him to be that. The basic problem we should resolve is, on the one hand, economic efficiency, since it can be seen that efficiency is decreasing every year, the economic efficiency of the economy as a whole, and especially efficiency of funds and within this efficiency of investments; and, on the other hand, political democracy. They are two sides of the same coin.

Of course, I am in no way under the illusion of the perfection of the market approach, but consider it to be an achievement in civilization's development and an instrument—the best so far—for enhancing efficiency and speeding up development, but which at the same time calls for autonomy and accountability of economic subjects and which basically requires man's motivation.

It is obvious that the way out of our crisis is through the reforms which will proceed from an integrated market, from autonomy and the right of associated labor organizations and economic subjects to make economic and development decisions and their accountability for those decisions; through the reforms which will be based on

opening us up to the world, exchanges of not just goods but of know-how, technologies, capital, people, which will reflect our struggle to become a part of the world and, of course, a part of Europe, by establishing links with the most developed states.

In this respect, this kind of attitude to reforms was accepted by the first LCY conference. Our principal commitment to reform is further developed by the SFRY Constitution, especially that part which deals with socioeconomic issues. In this context I must say that in my personal view we need reforms in society as a whole, from economic, political, state, and cadre changes to changes in people's minds. Although the human factor is the one we must take into account as, objectively speaking, the most powerful one in resolving our problems, still it is, at the same time, the most limiting one.

It will be easy to resolve the concept and, albeit not that easily, the problem of resources, but it will be most difficult to tackle the human factor which will be capable of coping with that kind of development. Time is needed to achieve it, but the sooner we embark on the process the faster will it yield results.

I will not dwell on the Constitution. It would not be appropriate to retell it now at this juncture and before this body, which is aware of what the changes in the constitution imply. I, who took part in its formulation, am aware—if I am allowed to say so—of its shortcomings and of its good sides and solutions. Differences are to be found—and this is not my view alone—between the provisions in the part dealing with the socioeconomic sphere—that is, the socioeconomic system, on one hand, and the political system on the other. the solutions to the socioeconomic system are far more radical, to the point of being called revolutionary, than those in the political system. Nevertheless, in my view, the framework of the Constitution provides enough scope for reforms. An integrated market, the autonomy of economic subjects, mixed ownership, the right to manage, the right to private, cooperative, and mixed ownership, treating socially owned property as socially owned capital, foreign investment, etc, provide a stable foundation for the development of a new type of socialist society.

What is the role and task of the state in this respect? I think I should dwell on what I would do with it. First, I think that our task consists of fully implementing, without any mediators, the original constitutional provisions and the original constitutional rights which associated labor organizations have and which make functioning of the system possible.

For many of these, no legal provision is required; or if there is such a legal provision, this will in principle be more restrictive than any constitutional one.

Independence of economic subjects, economic and developmental independence, both in the market and integrally, is the fundamental target which we as a state must help to launch. The first task in this respect is deregulation and reduction of normativism—these steps have absolute priority over all others. The new laws, which are of course required, must serve to ensure implementation of constitutional provisions and serve to enrich them, to promote the functioning of the market and the independence of economic subjects. These are not, I would say, a sine qua non for the system to start functioning, and they must be very thoroughly elaborated, after trying out a number of laws which have already been adopted, insofar as they accord neither with the word nor the spirit of fundamental constitutional provisions. Such major systemic changes cannot be carried through without transforming the state and the state administration. It is necessary to facilitate the transfer of rights and competence from the structure of state institutions to the structure and institutions of the economic system—that is, to self-managing subjects and markets, and at that, from the level of the municipality right up to the federation. That means that there must be close scrutiny of not only self-management from the municipality up through the republic and province right up to the federation, but also the competence and rights of the assembly system in regard to the market and in regard to the independence of associated labor organization.

What we need is, of course, a modern state, which is appropriate to a market economy and the independence of self-managing subjects, and which will indeed protect that independence and protect the market, while at the same time protecting political democracy.

The state has a very important function in the economy, but not one which replaces the function of the market and the function of economic subjects. The state's function, starting from the fiscal, consolidation of taxation, must be clearly worked out. Equally, it must be defined legally. Currently the legal function of the state is indeed the weakest and we need to consolidate the legal functions of the state and the whole system. This means, inter alia, that major changes in the structure of our state which cannot be put in doubt, must be effected—changes will at the same time carry out a heirarchical division of functions to remain within the state's competence and will enable autonomy of activity at individual levels of decision-making.

In that respect, of course, everything that must be done now to transform the state should help the functioning of, and should enable, a new economic and development policy, which should also be in the spirit of the reform. Unfortunately, trends from 1988 which have been carried over to this year are negative. These are production, the social product, employment, living standards, development, efficiency of production, not to mention the record inflation. Certain positive elements in the export section cannot compensate in the least for the nature of negative trends which are carried over in this year. A

new macroeconomic policy is necessary, for the present one based on restrictions, low wages, constant fall of living standards, on self-denials and lack of motivation, did not and could not achieve results.

We must first, by changing the macroeconomic policy, halt the negative tendencies which have been carried over from last year, and then go on to reverse the trends. We must combine elements of current and development policy, for only in correlating these and in fashioning their relations can a way out be found to put our relations back onto a sound basis, not only temporarily but for in the longer term.

I would give priority to the need to instill dynamism into production and to create conditions for eliminating inflation. Some dynamism must be instilled into production on the basis of real demand founded upon exports and the orientation toward exports, which must show a comprehensive increase in its current growth. There must be an increase in production and the social product. This increasemust be able to encompass scope for reclaiming the mortgage of the past and maintaining a consumption minimum—without which this society will be unable overnight to implement any change whatsoever. And some minimum scope for new development must be created. It is obvious that without high levels of growth in the social product this is impossible.

At the same time, it has been graphically demonstrated that in our case, at least, people have to have motivation, they must have the right to increase their personal income on the basis of market verification of their results—the results of their labor; there must be differentiation, for without that there is no incentive. Differences are necessary, so that later, in a further phase, they can be reduced. But we must accept that everything that motivates and that is the result of better ideas, better organization, new technology, new qualities, and new production of labor and efficiency must include the right to considerably greater increase in pesonal incomes. At the same time, however, we cannot accept indexation which does not contain in itself the results of labor.

Export is the basis of such expansion and exceptional growth in exports is necessary. It has multiple influences. First, without it there is no basis for real growth in production. Second, without this and considerable growth of foreign currency earnings there is no chance for us to open up toward the world and world movements and to absorb positively the achievements of civilization, technology, knowledge, and all of what the most modern part of the world has today. Equally, we must know that without considerable growth in exports and foreign currency earnings in the next 5 years, and after the second rescheduling in several years of debts we owe to our creditors, there is no chance for us to get rid of our obligations toward them. What is worse, we shall not be able to communicate in a normal way with the world financial market, with the capital market. Without normal communications not only with goods, knowledge, and technology, as well as with the capital market and labor market, there is no opportunity for us to constitute our own market. There can be no domestic market isolated from the world market. We shall have our own market to the extent to which we become an integrated part of the world market.

If a presupposition for communicating with the world capital market is that repayment of debts does not exceed 25 percent of foreign currency earnings, and after the grace [preceding word in English] period of 6 years—now unfortunately only 5 since 1 year has nearly passed—if we do not achieve earnings which would enable repayment of debts at a rate not to exceed 25 percent, it is not difficult to calculate what our foreign currency earnings should be after 5 years.

If our debts are on the order of between $6.5 and 7 billion—and they will be—we require a foreign currency inflow of $25 to 28 billion. It is not difficult to calculate that during the 5-year period we have to increase our foreign currency revenue 2.5 times or we shall again go down on our knees and ask for rescheduling, probably under conditions that would be very different and more difficult from the conditions today.

To attain this we must opt for the policy of import liberalization. The system of permits, rights, and of everything happening today within the whole of our system with foreign countries cannot remain. This battle for our place on the world market must be won by the organizations of associated labor; and the economy, enterprises, and the state must help them. No one, including the state, can fight that battle for them. We cannot place the whole system within the context of assorted permits, rights, and consent and in so doing curtail the autonomy, the ability of the organizations to operate, and the right and responsibility they must take on in this.

Of course, the degree, pace, and extent of the liberalization will depend on the developments that follow in the wake of the period in which we begin our new policy. Bearing in mind the fact that our debts have been rescheduled and that this rescheduling has created a basis, and if we were to concentrate more rapidly especially on the sectors that can very quickly bring in foreign currency earnings—such as services, tourism, purchase of foreign currency from our citizens, and incentives for savings and in general—I venture to say the kind of attitude toward savings and the attitude toward citizens' resources with which we provide the incentive so that the present grey market—and I do not think that this has to be explained to anyone among you: Just go to a cattle market or a car sale, the price of both a calf and of a car is not marked in dinars, but in Deutschemarks— must result in a situation where this grey market will be

translated into a public and legal market which reflects the needs of this society and its development, and not the function of speculations by individuals and earnings of individuals.

All our prejudices about enabling people to get rich fail the test. Because people are getting rich anyway, but in quite a different way. In this respect we must be clearly oriented toward liberalizing prices, but at the same time we must make liberalizaation of prices and liberalization of imports and the whole protective policy serve the right end. Our tendency must be for protective policy, especially customs duties and taxes, to be formed in such a way as to on the one hand exert pressure to lowering prices, and on the other hand in such a way as not to reproduce any increase in expenditure and the expenditure aspect of inflation.

As for the exchange rate and interest rates, if we have opted for the market, then these must be market rates and verified in the market. I am not thinking here of the so-called real interest rate as it is formulated in our country today, because this is a solidarity interest rate or a cost interest rate. I could explain this, but in order not to keep you too long I shall not explain it. Both of these should be market rates. The exchange rate and the interest rate are twins, and should be treated as such.

In the financial sphere we must establish firm discipline, for this is correspondingly solely market-based. We must separate monetary and credit policy. Monetary policy is the affair of the National Bank and issue banks, and credit policy is the affair of the commercial banks. We must establish new commercial banks as soon as possible and enable them to responsibly and independently conduct credit policy.

The budget and budget expenditure must also serve this society's efforts to reduce inflation, and they must therefore be thoroughly examined and reduced. As concerns the mortgages of the past, in particular and financial mortgages and all possible ones, in addition to identifying them and understanding that according to the logic of things they must be paid off, one should see what realistically needs to be sustained out of these. For instance, the currency rate differences in foreign currency savings are substantial. If currency savings go up, they are no problem. If, on the other hand, they fall, they could be a very big problem.

What to put a time limit on and for how long and what to change into public debt is a matter for concrete negotiations, evaluations, and professional reports. Of course, to delve into all this, and not this alone, requires quite consistent social policy. I must stress, and I am not saying it for the first time, we are so poor that the social problems can no longer be resolved in the sphere of social policy, but only in the sphere of development policy and as a segment of economic development policy. However, this does not mean that they cannot and must not be resolved within the context of the social sphere as well. The programs for those who do not work or who cannot work must be made available by the state and our society, too, but those who work must make it work themselves.

As far as our problems are concerned, especially with regard to the situation in the underdeveloped republics and of Kosovo, it is obvious that a very fair evaluation must be made of their situation and we must resolve the problems mainly within the context of the system. We must do that so that the development we are embarking on and the market which, while we are fighting for our position in the world—fighting for our position—so that this opening toward the world and our integration in the world market must abolish our mutual borders. There will be no internal development until we have opened toward the world and under the pressure of that we must open toward one another and establish links and integrate and share our work and raise it to a higher level. This is a great chance for integrating the more developed section of our society with the less developed one. As a whole, we are all underdeveloped to such an extent and are lagging so much behind the state of the world today that only with our combined forces—in which we have to accelerate the speed at which our convoy is traveling so that it does not proceed with the speed of the slowest ship—can we step up the speed of the slowest ship without reducing the speed of that ship which can move fastest and can pull the most.

In this respect we must stimulate new development and from this new development we must make it possible for space to be opened up for a new qualitative development, which in essence will be the restructuring of our economy in line with contemporary world conditions, and through which the funds to develop the underdeveloped will serve such development and such restructuring.

I could explain this further now, but I think there will be an opportunity to talk about it more. An export orientation, opening up toward the world and world achievements, must be the basis of our restructuring, in which only those programs that have prospects of authenticating themselves in the market, of proving themselves in the market, would have the right, as it were, to be supported both by local and global policy.

We must also in this respect be conscious of the fact that the structure of our economy corresponds to that of the contemporary world 50 or more years ago. Changing such a structure is not a simple matter. There are two directions by means of which problems will be resolved. One is the formation of a new structure which, I would venture to say, will be relatively easy, or easier. And the other is the restructuring of the existing incapable structure to enable it to keep up with world trends, which will be an incomparably more difficult and lengthy process. Far more developed countries than ours, which have as

much as $15,000-20,000 per capita of the population and which are not so indebted as we are, needed 5-10 years to carry out such a structural adaptation of their industry and economy.

This will not be painless, but we must enter into this process. In this respect I think that when we speak about new development, we must, making use of the constitutional provisions, stimulate enterprise, initiative, joint investments. We must immediately introduce stocks, shares, the formation of joint enterprises, private enterprises, collectives, mixed capital, domestic and foreign investment, the formation of joint enterprises with foreign partners, on the basis of joint investment, to which we must give priority in our activity.

Joint investments must have priority over all other investments. This does not mean that we should not take out credits, but this really must be extremely exceptional. Our main problem is not that we owe so much; the problem is that these debts were not, at least partly, made through joint investments in which the partners bear a common risk for creating new securities. It was therefore possible to invest in programs that were not only incapable of becoming part of the world market, but were also incapable of reproducing themselves. What is needed, of course, is the so-called swap, the buying up and repurchasing of our debts—which, again, has its own problems for the Yugoslav side, problems that will not be easy to overcome. But all this must be committed to new development, for we will not be able to accomplish a turnaround by the current economic policy measures alone, but only by a combination of measures of economic and development policy do we have a chance of resolving matters.

In so doing, we need powerful injections for new development. For this we need new funds from our citizens in the country, and from our enterprises, which now have the right to invest, manage, and acquire—something which was previously not possible. We need, too, funds from abroad, the strong support of which we can and must count on, I think.

Furthermore, we stress once again that there must be only those projects and programs that have been verified in the market, not state programs at all. Small businesses, services, especially tourism, agriculture, and the most modern technology and transfer of that technology, as parts of our infiltration of the world market, can be the area in which to seek solutions that are both long-term and yet that also yield quick results. A number of major projects checked out on the world market must also be put forward on the world market. Talks with our creditors and with the International Monetary Fund must be reopened and conducted with this policy in view. It is in their interest that Yugoslavia emerge from its difficulties as soon as possible with a new concept. They must back such a policy not only morally but also give it powerful financial support.

In the period ahead of us I think that a series of tasks must be carried out. I personally think that one's period of office should be made use of for, I would venture to say, the animation of this policy, for presenting it, for gaining agreement—or if I can put it this way, consensus—in our country. Because of this I thought there should be, and requested, and gained agreement for, talks at a Yugoslav level to be organized as soon as possible, which we will start by Wednesday [1 February], first with the best businessmen, the most progressive businessmen in Yugoslavia. This will be held on Wednesday, where we should, through talks, confirm not only these orientations but all others at the same time, as it were. We will discuss how to give support, how to encourage the best economic organizations, because we in our society are mainly overburdened with those that are bad, which have to be saved and rehabilitated. Let us count how many times we have had talks with the good ones on how they might become even better, how they might in this way make breakthroughs that would then open up space for others as well. No one in any way has ever made breakthroughs along a whole front. Breakthroughs are made in areas that are most suitable, and with the best units. We must make it possible for them to be in a situation where they understand the situation and at the same time feel the confidence that will be entrusted in them for the risks they are to undertake.

Here the only person who has no risks to take is he who does nothing, who does not enter into anything and for this reason, unfortunately, no one takes responsibility for anything. He who is prepared to fight, to take risks, he, ultimately, also stands a great chance of making a mistake. We must stand behind this kind of person, who, in the struggle for the new, taking risks, makes mistakes as well. In doing this, of course we will not and must not cover up anyone's criminal behavior nor anyone who makes fundamental mistakes resulting from ignorance. At the same time, though, the forces of this society must know, must be encouraged, to enter a new battle. What good to us are talks on support from new resources, both from our citizens and from abroad, if there is no one to accept them, if no one will take risks, if there are no programs that are formed together?

Also, immediately after that we will have talks with economic scientists with whom I want to check on the elements of our economic policy and also to get them to cooperate so that most of the knowledge we have in the country may be put at the disposal of our policy and of the measures and activities due to be pursued during the ensuing period.

With Comrade Orozen we also agreed on the talks with the trade unions. I think that it is quite clear from what I have been saying today what we will be talking about. I think that the trade unions must be an independent force in part of the business in accordance with the rules of the game.

With Comrade Greganovic I also agreed to have talks with the youth organization on the same topic.

I have also gotten in touch with the Federal Executive Council [FEC]. I am trying to keep up with what is happening, also with what is happening outside our country.

I want to say that we have several things here of importance to us. First, we must be clear in our minds that the consolidation of the new system requires a period of at least 5 years. Let us not expect that to get from the depth of the crisis in which we are—which is not only an economic one, you know that full well, it is difficult to find all the epithets to depict it properly—less than a minimum of 5 years is required; 5 years of very consistent and consistently pursued policy, a policy which during the period of its implementation will be fashioned anew. There are no solutions provided once and for all. New solution will open up new processes, new processes will give rise to new problems, and new problems will require new solutions. The ability of the team to provide the best answers at every stage will be what will make it possible for us during a relatively brief period of time to get out of the problems and open up a process of a rather more long-term, richer, more democratic and sure development.

In this context I must say that the first talks held with the people whom we must have in the team have shown that unless we have the best and the most progressive people, the best organizers, and independent people ready to take risks, we do not stand a chance. Such people who today are occupying the best posts and are in the best enterprises in our country—none of them wants to come for 1 year because the 1-year period does not give you a chance at all. It must be clear that unless we are talking about the full mandate [the 4-year term of office] a proper government adequate to the situation and requirements of our society cannot be constituted, and I will be honest and frank: I do not want to work like that either. This does not mean, it does not mean, that this government will not have to be brought down tomorrow, in 3 months time, in a year's time, or that the government itself will not resign. I am talking about the administrative limits, and not of the qualitative ones.

I also think that although considerable pressure is being brought to bear on me that we should come to an agreement overnight, I must say that there is minimum time required to find the solutions in a mature and optimal way. As a man who has worked on hundreds of projects in my lifetime, perhaps more than that, I know that the success of every project depends on good preparations.

All that is now taking place is preparation for this project. I must repeat, quite openly, what I said at the SFRY Presidency: that I have accepted this mandate conditionally. On condition, that is, that during the time of forming the proposals for the composition of the new FEC a consensus on such policy can be ensured, and on this basis the best team obtained, the best it is objectively and realistically possible to obtain, then there are no conditions for the mandate. If this cannot be done, then I think that it is honest, democratic, and responsible to say I have not succeeded; comrades, look for someone else.

I think that the criteria for the election of the members of the FEC should be an orientation toward reform, a market orientation, an orientation toward deregulation and exports, motivation, expertise, proven ability in practice, organizational abilities and qualities, the ability to communicate with people, a Yugoslav orientation above all, and an absence of any preoccupation with one-sided interests. The team must function in a Yugoslav way. If this is not the case, there are no solutions. There must at the same time be a maximum degree of independence. All the leaders of departments must be prepared to take responsibility for their jobs and not to hide behind others. Combativeness, the ability to oppose opinions with ones own or other people's arguments is something which is of course sought from people who are to take part.

I think that a reorganization of the FEC should be carried out—I am saying this because this is a precondition for talks with people—as well as a reorganization of the administration. It will be necessary to reduce the number of members of the FEC and it will be necessary to reduce the administration, seeking quality, to reduce the number of people. I would not like to speak about quantities, but in terms of orientation it can be said that this should not be less than one-third. People who do such jobs should be rewarded differently and, allow me to say, new blood must be brought into the administration. According to a crude evaluation, which it is true is my own personal one and not necessarily accurate, between 500 and 700 new people should be brought into the new administration, from advisers and heads to chiefs of certain departments.

Are the republics and provinces, starting with the organizations of associated labor, the municipalities, the sociopolitical organizations of the republics, prepared to make such people available in the shortest possible period? I am aware of the fact that this is not simple. I am aware that there is a series of administrative and purely human problems that have to be resolved in this connection, but you must believe that if we do not enable such a change in the composition to take place, then the best leading team unfortunately will not be accompanied by suitable people.

As far as our situation is concerned, I have already described it, and I need not have described it. The risks of this society are enormous. The risks for each one of us working on this are many times greater than the chances.

Looking at it statically, there seems to be no way out of our situation. Looking at it dynamically, there are ways out. The ways out are in a new concept, a new policy, motivating people.

It is the people who must take responsibility upon themselves. They must take upon themselves the battle for the new. I am aware that there can be no development without risks, but at the same time there can be no risks without confidence in people. Even a small chance can become decisive if one knows how to use it properly and if a suitable team of people is assembled to make use of it. A new morale is needed, not the morale of the loser but the morale of winners. A few people, however wise and gray-haired they are, cannot bring about this process by themselves, nor can the state as a whole. The huge forces and potential of this society should be liberated, people should be motivated to be the bearers of this process. Then the chances will become real, attainable, and feasible. If we know what we want, and I believe that we do know, if we achieve unity in this, then I do not doubt that this self- managing socialism will win this war. Thank you.

Answers Questions on Policy

AU2801201889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Report on question and answer session with Premier-designate Ante Markovic at SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium session held in Belgrade 28 January]

[Text] After Ante Markovic had delivered his speech members of the SAWPY Presidium asked questions. What will the new government do to stop the counter-revolution in Kosovo? Will there be any women or youth in the new federal government? What steps will the government take to improve the position of social activities? Other questions were also asked. Ante Markovic first replied to what he thinks about the new type of socialism:

[Begin Markovic recording] How to reach a new socialism that will be centered on man, that will be centered on man's rights, that will motivate man, that will build a richer modern society, that will not be isolated from the world, that will not display its advantages by closing the borders? We must be aware of this: There are no solutions granted once and forever.

As regards Kosovo, the matter is completely clear. All our problems, I would say, starting with the social and political problems and ranging to the national and inter-ethnic problems, have been expressed in Kosovo in their worst form and have been manifested in Kosovo. Solutions are under way that are partly political and must be partly state solution. A legal state must function. I would not dare to commit myself now, for this must be studied well and one must look at it from the aspect of powers that the new FEC will have in this respect, and I think that its powers in the legal sense must be incomparably greater than they used to be. In this context of Kosovo, and not of Kosovo alone but of the general situation in the country, one must know where the political intervention ends and the state intervention begins.

As regards the composition of the FEC, I will be only too happy if women nominate some of their best representatives who meet the necessary criteria. [end recording]

Ante Markovic will shortly visit all the republics and provinces for the purpose of consultations on possible FEC members. A list of candidates for the FEC will be presented at another session of the SAWPY Presidium. From the names on this list, Ante Markovic will propose the members of the FEC to the SFRY Assembly. It is envisaged that the election of the federal government will be carried out in the SFRY Assembly between 3 and 7 March, when Premier-designate Ante Markovic will ask the delegates to give him a vote of confidence and confirm his selection of 29 FEC members.

TANJUG Reviews Proceedings

LD2801145389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, candidate for the post of FEC president, expounded his action program for the federal government and the criteria for proposing new members of the FEC today at a session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium which was relayed directly by Yugoslav radio and television. [passage omitted]

The SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium also adopted the decision today to set in motion preliminary procedures for proposing candidates for FEC membership. It was agreed that in the republics and provinces this task would be carried out by 25 February, so that the SFRY Assembly could elect the new federal government at the beginning of March.

Today the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium also adopted today a draft decision on forming a commission to reform the Socialist Alliance; the decision will be passed by the federal conference as early as 1 February. The draft decision states that reform of the SAWP is an integral and inalienable part of the transformation of the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations, but on the initiative of Joze Smole that sentence was omitted. Smole considers that in changing itself the Socialist Alliance should not link itself exclusively with other organizations. [passage omitted]

Commentary, Reportage on 20th LCY Session

Issues Facing Session Viewed

LD2801175589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1427 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 28 (TANJUG)—A hurried regrouping of forces and open, unsparing confrontations between some branches of the League of Communists of

Yugoslavia (LCY) ahead of the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee starting on Monday, January 30, have raised a number of the most serious questions so far about the country's future.

At least on the surface, the main issues are fierce attacks against and defence of president of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Stipe Suvar, whose departure from or stay in office is obviously seen by the confronted forces as crucial to the prevalence of their political options for pulling the country out of the long-standing crisis.

Yugoslavia is not an area for quarrels, futile bargains and deals, pressures, coalitions, or compromises between republican and provincial leaderships. Consequently, those concerned with saving their own positions instead of saving the country should fare worst at the party plenum.

Before taking the floor on Monday, each member of the LCY Central Committee should be aware of his or her own vast responsibility and should bear in mind Yugoslavia, because nobody has the right to play with its fate.

Guided by the intention to attain the necessary unity without which there is no way out of the crisis, the LCY Central Committee must subordinate everything to the opening of doors to profound democratic reforms. It is with this aim in mind that the party plenum should make all its moves, including those related to cadres. Personal ambitions and hurt pride must not be in the forefront.

Relieved of dogmas and ideological prejudice, the League of Communists, which is evidently undergoing a crisis, must find enough strength at the plenum to prove in practice that despite everything it is still the strongest cohesive factor in Yugoslavia.

Instead of putting the country at crucial risks, this would enable the next party congress, which should be obviously convened as soon as possible, to once and for all promote a truly reinvigorated project of Yugoslav socialism and competent persons to leading positions.

Press Reviews Party Plenum

LD2601204489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1840 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 26 (TANJUG)—The question of whether the 20th Yugoslav party plenum—originally set for January 25 put off for January 30—will be an opportunity for a dialogue or a duel was in one way or another raised by most of the Yugoslav newspapers today.

Expressing the opinion that the brief postponement cannot significantly contribute to preparations for the Yugoslav party plenum, the Novi Sad daily DNEVNIK says that the postponement can, however, prove useful in the case of individuals who are being taken to task for the difficult situation in the country, giving them time to prepare their own defense. The defense, no matter what it turns out to be like, will certainly not mean the announced "battle for Yugoslavia", DNEVNIK observes.

DNEVNIK writes that the Croatian Communists at last came out and said what they had to at their plenum two days ago but did so through criticism of other leaderships in the country, i.e. in a fashion for which they have been criticizing others. There can be no dialogue in such an atmosphere, according to DNEVNIK.

In reaction to the calls made for the responsibility of the Yugoslav party leadership and party President Stipe Suvar (from Croatia) to be reviewed in the light of the difficult situation in the country and the disunity in the party, calls are being raised in Croatia for Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic to be taken to task, the Novi Sad daily points out.

The Zagreb daily VJESNIK feels that the clash at the 20th Yugosalv party plenum will feature an "organized support" to some of the leaderships. It sets out, in that context, that most of the inter-nationality and other conflicts have taken root among office holders.

If the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a single party, was it not possible much earlier to prevent the conflagration of disunity from spreading and entire nations from aligning themselves with individual officials and forums, VJESNIK asks. The Croatian Communists replied in the affirmative to that question two days ago and VJESNIK, for its part, today underscores that the leaderships in Yugoslavia should have focused their attention solely on a "Yugoslav synthesis". The Zagreb daily expresses the opinion that a conflict of developmental and national concepts is actually involved and that the Yugoslav party must come out and clearly say to what degree is the developmental concept limited by the national.

The Ljubljana daily DELO writes that there is no reason to sound the alarm because a two-party system is in embryo in the country. It feels that the current stage in the country's political development is "more progressive" than the previous one and that the Yugoslav population would, therefore, do better "politically to unite on the basis of political commitments than on the basis of national programmes".

DELO writes that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia must "step down" if a basic condition for an honest ideological battle is to be met. The Ljubljana daily expresses the opinion that the question of whether Yugoslavia is to remain as it has been so far must not depend on "the outcome of the battle between individual party factions and even less so on the outcome of a plenum".

The dailies BORBA of Belgrade and OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo criticize the escalating divisions among the country's war veterans, themselves, and the aligning of veterans' organizations with national republican policies.

"What is disturbing and disappointing is the principle which guides the old combatants in new battles," BORBA writes. It sets out that the four war years seem ironically to have faded for veteran revolutionaries after 44 years spent near bureaucratic offices, offices where the dangerous divisions and confrontations did in fact originate.

OSLOBODJENJE writes in a similar vein and underscores that "combatants from the periphery of the war" are now being heard from "the centres of today's national bureaucratic fortresses" and that the true voice of the war veterans has not yet been heard.

The Yugoslav Armed Forces' weekly NARODNA ARMIJA writes that individual officials are quarrelling and drawing nations and nationalities into inter-nationality feuds while Yugoslavia's "sore wound", the counter-revolution in Kosovo, and the economic crisis grow more acute and prospects for them to be resolved become dimmer.

NARODNA ARMIJA describes as very instructive the example of the Province of Vojvodina, whose League of Communists abandoned the old practice and wrong policy after a popular revolt. The Yugoslav People's Army weekly writes that the special League of Communists of Vojvodina conference, which called for a special Yugosalvia Party congress and denied further confidence to the Yugoslav party Presidency and its President Stipe Suvar, will either go down in history as the beginning of a new age or will mark the definitive acknowledgement of the disunity which has been simmering in the Yugoslav party for a long time.

Unity Demanded at Plenum

AU2901195989 Belgrade Domestic Service re in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Kosta Krajincanic commentary]

[Text] Reach an agreement, come to terms, unite, show more trust in each other, find a common language and solution to suit all, solve the crisis in a peaceful way—these are the wishes of and messages from the people prior to the 20th LCY Central Committee plenum. They come from ordinary people, our fellow citizens, those who are fed up with quarrels; with people outwitting each other; sessions, price increases, and inflation—those who would like to work in peace and earn their living in an honest way.

To what extent is it possible to fulfill these simple demands during the present dramatic times, to what extent is it possible to fulfill this minimum without which nobody can live, and to which every man is entitled? There is no more important question than this at present. The answer is expected from the 20th party session which even the highest party officials now say is crucial. It is a real problem when a single political gathering is expected to resolve numerous problems and disagreements which have been accumulated for years. Despite this, and despite the bitter experience that many of the other previous crucial sessions were futile, the people are nevertheless looking up to the LC and expect it to demonstrate political wisdom and reason at the last moment.

This political wisdom and reason, if they are present at the plenum, demand that two basic problems be the focus of our attention: solving the economic crisis and curbing the counterrevolution in Kosovo. The LCY has been divided over these issues and now should achieve unity on them. Everything stems from these two issues: the clashes between leaderships, the schism in the party, and the people's anger.

In recent years two opposing political concepts emerged from differences on these issues: One claims that society will not make any progress with empty rhetoric and political lullabies, while the other cannot or does not want to understand this. The former strives to pull society out of poverty through substantive, profound reforms; to move and activate the huge power of the people; to return the joint state's good reputation; to defend its territory from the raging counterrevolution and protect the disfranchized people in Kosovo—while the other is only concerned about preserving the status quo and its position in it.

Today on the Yugoslav social and political scene there is a clash between progressive forces and an antiprogress front. This clash cannot be resolved through any compromises. There can be no reconciliation with political options which do not recognize anything except their own interest. Yugoslavia cannot survive with such options, at least it cannot survive as a federal, socialist, and self-managing Yugoslavia. If this has so far only been an assumption, today it is a proven assumption.

One cannot live in his own country and be against it through bureaucratic separatism, by craving local power, closing his eyes in the face of the troubles of other peoples, sowing discord, and many other dark and secret political machinations. Our country cannot be continuously divided by the thesis that Yugoslavia is only Yugoslavia to the extent that there is agreement on the part of the republics and provinces.

Finally, one cannot live in his own country without recognizing its state sovereignty and the rules of behavior in the joint state. If the members of the highest party organ do not take the side of Yugoslavia at the crucial moment, if they give in to the demands of a separatist

and antireform coalition, political bureaucracy, and its mighty bosses, the fate of Yugoslavia remains completely uncertain for the future.

Plenum Opens

AU3001083889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0815 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] The 20th session of the LCY Central Committee has begun in the Yugoslav Assembly. Here is a report from Kosta Krajincanic:

Respected listeners, it was decided at the beginning of the plenum that reports from this plenum will be carried in normal and special programs on the radio and television and there will be the normal press coverage. Therefore there will be no live relay of the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, then outlined to the Central Committee members the proposal of the Presidium that before moving on to matters on the agenda, the plenum should decide on whether to vote on the proposal of the Vojvodina LC Conference on the holding of an extraordinary congress and on whether the newly elected members of the Central Committee from Vojvodina will take part in this plenum. At the moment a discussion is being held on this. Dusan Dragosavac has spoken and Nedeljko (?Sipovec) is now on the rostrum.

Our next report will be in about half an hour and there will be a special program at 1000 [0900 GMT].

Pre-Agenda Discussion

AU3001090789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] The plenum of the LCY Central Committee opened at the SFRY Assembly building in Belgrade ½ hour ago. Here is a report by Kosta Krajincanic:

[Begin Krajincanic recording] The plenum began ½ hour ago, but the agenda is still not being discussed. The main topics of the 20th LCY Central Committee session is, as you know, the political situation in the country, relations in the LCY, the work and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. However, a principled question was asked at the very beginning of the session: Can such an important topic as the one the plenum should deal with be discussed by an incomplete Central Committee? For a certain number of members of the Central Committee and its Presidium have submitted resignations and there are some Central Committee members whose responsibility should be discussed. This brings up the question of cadre and personnel representation on the highest party organ.

There are different opinions. Dusan Dragosavac, for instance, suggested that cadre questions should be postponed and that work should now begin according to the agenda. However, the debate on this point is still under way and what its outcome will be.... [end recording, Krajincanic is interrupted by the announcer from the studio]

We suppose that the work according to the agenda will start before the beginning of our special program which will begin at 1000 [0900 GMT] on Belgrade and Novi Sad radio frequencies. Until that time we shall listen to our regular program.

TANJUG Commentary on Presidency Session

AU1801195789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 89 p 3

[TANJUG commentary: "In Connection With the Statement on the Session of the SFRY Presidency: Minimum Joint Action"]

[Text] To haggle about something that has been agreed upon, to keep assessing something that has been assessed already—we no longer have time for such things. If we judge by the course of the SFRY Presidency session, we are entering "a situation in which the force of the events in the country imposes the question of the existence and the future of Yugoslavia as a socialist, self-managing, democratic, federal community of equal peoples."

This was another successive assessment, the fifth in a year, by the collective head of state, by the presidents of the presidencies of the republics and provinces, and by other top federal officials who literally discussed for a whole day the political security situation in the country. The brief statement does not go into any detail about "the serious warning at a very serious moment" of our community, which was much discussed on this occasion. Despite these joint assessments of the grave consequences of the crisis that is destroying the country's system and bringing a fatal galloping inflation, that brings millions of Yugoslavs to the brink of subsistence, and despite the poor political and security situation in the country, our leaderships—as it was said at this session—"cannot agree on basic joint action" to prevent the worst or to "restore the minimum of confidence of the citizens in the party and the state."

Instead of repeating assessments about everything that burdens the present development in this country, the Presidency asked for a "minimum of joint action" within its own powers as well as within the powers that the republics and provinces have in this field. The opening speech by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, addressed these, precisely at the proposal of the presidents of the units of the federation in the form of a document about the difficult political, economic, and security situation in the country and the measures that should be taken under "urgent."

What was said at the session could be reduced to the questions that we are often repeated: Could a start be made in Yugoslavia, and could a move that would lead

us out of the present deadlock not be stopped by the growing forces of separatism or hegemony, the increased nationalism on the basis of which we began to quarrel and to hate each other, nor the bureaucrats in the leading structures. In other words, do we possess the strength to turn over a new leaf, for time no longer works for us: in "such a sensitive and dangerous situation one cannot conduct talks as if peace reigned. [quotations marks as published] One should prevent the looming national and other conflicts, and stop the raging of the economic crisis, especially of inflation. It is necessary to create the urgent political and legal climate for the beginning of the economic reform and to break the resistance to our firm resolution this time that the economy should be returned to businessmen and they should be employed in it.

In such a pregnant situation, in the assessment of the Presidency, everything begins to be jeopardized, especially the beginning of the realization of the economic reform. "General political confusion" has arisen, and the Presidency believes that the country is at a "crossroads," because "the attacks on and the threats to its AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] system are obvious." As Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, said in his opening speech, this happens among other things because "there has never been so much tolerance and so much opportunism in Yugoslavia and the LCY toward the occurrences of nationalism, and never less differentiation against the occurrences that encourage nationalism. And we never had such a penetration of covert and overt nationalism into the public media, some of which have become a force above society and not a part of the democratic system and practice that we should develop."

Slovene LC Cites Stances for 20th LCY Plenum

AU2801174889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Relja Atanasijevic report from Ljubljana]

[Text] The momentary relationship of forces in the LCY can best be described by the phrase: unity with differences. The differences are unfortunately very deep. It seems that in our hot political scene they will be manifested at the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee. The Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia openly voices the fear that the aggravated relations may lead to a complete split. A framework of stances has therefore been set in Ljubljana, to be advocated by the LCY Central Committee members from Slovenia at the 20th session in Belgrade on 30 January. Relja Atanasijevic reports from Ljubljana:

The framework of the Slovene LC stances has been formulated in four points. The first point refers to the formulation of a joint stand in the battle for Yugoslavia that should be a democratic, socialist, and self-managing community, or it will not exist. The second point says that to encourage the democratization process, it is necessary to create political room for peoples' initiative, the so-called citizens' initiatives, the initiatives of organized citizens, and a nonparty political pluralism.

The third point implies a renewal of the LC so that it may become a cohesive force that encourages well-considered practical steps leading into a socialism of the future, socialism with civilizational values. The fourth point proposes that the LCY Central Committee should thoroughly and with proper arguments assess what movements are now evident in the country at large and in the LCY.

Probably this last point will be the main bone of contention at the 20th plenum in Belgrade. The visions of the present movements and their protagonists differ very much among the various Yugoslav communities.

The Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia advocates the view that a quiet reshaping of the SFRY is taking place in front of people's eyes, supported by some parts of the LC, or that transforming the SFRY into some different kind of Yugoslavia, with a different system and a different political orientation from AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] is being regarded tolerantly.

Particular attention should be paid to the view of the Central Committee in Ljubljana that the disagreements and conflicts in the LC occur among the leading Communists, although it appears as if a conflict of interests among peoples were involved. It is therefore stressed that the Communists have no right to transfer their differences and ideopolitical clearing up to society at large and to paralyze the working of the state. This is an unpardonable sin against the people, society, and the system.

Aware of its responsibility for preventing a split and deepening the crisis, the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia has expressed its readiness to contribute its share to shaping a joint democratic development of a socialist, effective, and modern society, and in direct contacts with the representatives of the LCs of other republics and provinces to clear up the disagreements and the misunderstanding of the trends in Slovenia.

In conclusion one should cite the well-known position of Slovene Communists that at the LCY Central Committee session they will insist on statute principles in connection with the question of relieving the Presidency or President Stipe Suvar, or expressing a lack of confidence in them, as well as on the view that there should be no extraordinary congress, although it may be held earlier than first envisaged; in any case it should be held after republican congresses and provincial conferences.

Slovene Presidium Discusses Montenegro

LD1801221889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—At its 2-day session, which ended last night, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium considered, among other things, the situation in Montenegro. The Presidium came to the conclusion that renewed outbursts of dissatisfaction had occurred becuse of an inexplicable slowness in resolving the problems that arose in October.

In a statement issued after the session it is said that in the Slovene LC's view events in Yugoslavia indicate that despite all its attempts and efforts the LC has failed to comply with the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session and to focus its attention and that of the entire society on implementing the policy of the three reforms and on paving the way for a gradual emergence from the economic and political crisis. Therefore it is understandable that people's dissatisfaction is not diminishing and that there is a growing mistrust in the entire system and its institutions.

The mass gatherings in Montenegro and the resignations of the republic's political leaderships naturally are closely linked with the events of last October. In its letter sent to the Montenegro LC Central Committee at the time, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium supported the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium which, following the events of October accepted the workers' justified demands and rejected all attempts to use their dissatisfaction with their social and human position to attack the republic's recongnized institutions, and by implication, Yugoslavia's socialist, self-managing federal order. We gave our resolute support to Montenegrin Communists and their attempts to resist pressures aimed at using the people's dissatisfacation to deny the the Montenegrin people's national identity and Montenegro's sovereignty, the statement says.

The renewed escalation of dissatisfaction resulted from an inexplicable slowness and lack of determination in resolving the problems that caused the October unrest. The Slovene LC Central Commitee Presidium again warns of unacceptable methods, pressures, and demands that hamper the institutions of the system from establishing the responsibility of those in social functions, from distinguishing truth from lies, and from differentiating between justified criticism of alienated state and party structures on one hand and the pogrom of all the institutions of the system and the reform processes underway in both Yugoslavia and Montenegro, on the other.

Developments of this kind could, in the view of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, lead to the negation of the existing system as a whole, to willfull decisionmaking oblivious to the will of the self-managing and politically organized working people. A dangerous vacuum is being created, not just in Montenegro, but in the federation as well, in a way that could hamper any efforts to resolve the crisis more rapidly, and in line with the justified demands of a dissatisfied population. This is all the more so since the existing situation is being used for unfounded attacks on the organs of the federation and for denying the sovereignty, independence, and creative role of individual nations and their republics in implementing the reforms at the federal level.

In light of all this, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium expresses its concern over these events and strongly favors any resolution that will serve to enhance confidence in legitimacy of the system's institutions and those performing social functions and strengthen the forces of reform in Yugoslavia in both the economic and political system, in the LCY, in the Socialist Alliance, and in other sociopolitical organizations.

The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium is of the view that a new FEC must be formed as soon as possible. The main platform for the election of a prime minister-designate and FEC members must be a program that complies with the criteria of the SFRY Presidency. Preference must be given to a market-oriented, anti-inflationary policy that will gain confidence by its expertise and will serve to liberate the self-managing and commercial initiatives of economic factors. The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium is making efforts to enable Slovenia to play a responsible part in the election of new president and to actively cooperate in the formation of a new FEC in line with its responsibilities for Yugoslavia's common social development.

The statement goes on to say that at its session the Presidium also discussed the issue of political pluralism. In that context it was said that, in line with the guidelines of the Slovene LC conference, the Slovene LC saw the various processes of democratization and democracy in both Slovene and Yugoslav society as necessary conditions for overcoming the existing crisis. Therefore it has decided to put at the forefront of its political program efforts to open up scope for activity in the political arena. Development in the direction of socialism which, as an open and democratic system, will be based on contemporary civilized standards of the developed world, and above all on full respect for human dignity and people's rights and freedoms; which will have the capacity to provide the quality and standard of living at the level of the developed world; and which—and this is of vital importance for socialism—will promote the emancipating and humanistic dimension and prospects are goals Communists can and should attain only if acting jointly and on an equal footing with other organized forms of people's social and political involvement and those through which they strive to resolve their existential problems. Through concerted efforts within the Socialist Alliance, we wish to search for and eliminate economic, political, and ideological causes of the crisis and to lay down new social foundations for successful development and dignified human existence.

The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium has prepared a proposal of its standpoints on political pluralism to be discussed by the membership and by the Slovene LC Central Committee.

Slovene Presidency Condemns MLADINA Attack

AU1801154689 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] The Republican Committee for Information has sent us a statement by the Presidency of Slovenia. The statement says that the weekly MLADINA in its issue today carries an article that crudely insults the SFRY Presidency and its members. Regardless of the legal aspects of this case, the Presidency of Slovenia resolutely objects to such writing, for it lowers to an intolerable degree the cultural level of political expression on questions that are important to all.

Although some articles in this magazine have dealt with current political problems in such a way on several occasions, on this occasion, when it attacks the state Presidency that represents Yugoslavia and at the same time is the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, the Presidency of Slovenia resolutely condemns such a manner of political discussion.

The Presidency of Slovenia considers that the problem of political culture is particularly burning in Yugoslavia at present, and it therefore draws attention to the fact that such articles do not promote a democratic dialogue but, on the contrary, create circumstances that favor slanders and attacks on personal integrity.

Kavadarci Municipal Leaders Discuss 'Crisis'

LD2701140389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Kavadarci, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied with last night's proposed measures to overcome the crisis in this collective and in the municipality, workers of the Elro work organization continued their protest gathering outside the municipal assembly today. They were also joined by workers from other collectives and by citizens, bringing the number of protesters at the city square up to about 2,500. They are demanding a speedier reactivating of the capacities of the work organizations facing bankruptcy, the reduction of administration staff, and the unburdening of the economy. They are also calling for the establishment of responsibility of a number of municipal officials.

Emergency session of municipal leaderships are in progress.

Workers Strike in Kavadarci

LD2701234289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1825 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Skoplje, Jan 27 (TANJUG)—Around 3,000 workers today went on strike demanding the resignation of seven local officials in Kavadarci, a town in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

The workers demand the opening of the Feni ferrnickel plant which was closed down several years ago, before it was even put into full operation, and the opening of the sections of a wood-processing plant and zinc factory that were also closed.

The strikers also demand new employment programs, cuts in administration and a reduction in taxes for farmers.

At the same time, around 200 unemployed people staged a protest rally in front of the building of the communal assembly in Strumica, a town in southern Macedonia, on behalf of over 6,000 people who are currently unemployed in the town. Many of them have been waiting for a job for over five years. They demand that the law be consistently implemented and that all irregularities concerning employment be removed. They threatened to stage a protest meeting unless their demands were fulfilled.

Nearly 140,000 people are unemployed in Macedonia, which has a population of 2 million 510,000.

Macedonia's Presidency assessed in Skopje today that hostile activities and enemy propaganda were increasing in the republic and that this was reflected in heightened political and social tensions. For this reason, the Presidency demanded that operational action programs be adopted throughout Macedonia in order to prevent the destabilization of the republic.

Citizens Refuse To End Protest

LD2701225489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2054 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Kavadarci, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—About 7,000 dissatisfied workers and citizens of Kavadarci who have been protesting in front of the municipal assembly building are not satisfied with the conclusions of representatives of the municipal and republican organs, although conclusions almost entirely meet their demands.

It was said that the eight top municipal leaders would tender (?resignations) to their executive bodies and organs at sessions convened for next few days. However, the gathered workers and citizens do not agree with this and demand that they tender their resignations immediately.

Thus, 7,000 workers and citizens of Kavadarci refuse to end their protest meeting. They threaten to stay the whole night until their demands are met.

Montenegro LC Plenum Convenes Special Congress

AU2801174589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Jagos Stojanovic report from Titograd]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro in Titograd has discussed the current political situation and the situation in the LC within the preparations for the forthcoming 20th LCY Central Committee session. New members of the Central Committee and its Presidium were elected. The initial list of possible candidates for the LCY Central Committee members from Montenegro was expanded. A committee was also set up to prepare an extraordinary congress of Montenegrin Communists, which will be preceded by extraordinary conferences of the communal organizations. Jagos Stojanovic reports from Titograd:

In his (?brief) opening remarks about the political situation, Veselin Vukotic expressed the opinion that collective energy has been set in motion. It was set in motion by many political reasons, as well as by the struggle for the dignity and the preservation of the moral integrity of the Montenegrin nation and all those who live with it in brotherhood on this soil. It was set in motion by the suffering of Kosovo and by the political disunity at the very top of the country's leadership.

In addition, the economic situation is getting worse, and living conditions are deteriorating. Indeed, the economic difficulties we are experiencing must not be forgotten nor neglected, Vukotic stressed. These difficulties will not be solved overnight. They will not be solved by waiting, either, but by working. Therefore all these processes of democratization in Montenegro must be based on, and must consider, the economic foundation.

The basic task for everyone is therefore to maintain and to increase production both in the social sector and in the private and cooperative sectors. It is the task of every individual to increase the social product of the republic within his possibilities.

Vukotic went on to say: [Begin Vukotic recording] The processes of democratization that have been started are a major pledge binding everybody, and especially the Communists. The untouchability of many leaderships has been destroyed, I think forever. Many who never even though of it will have to leave their cushy places.

Processes have been begun that create preconditions for an efficient realization of our potential, especially the human potential. A broad democratic front should now bring forth much better quality, and more capable younger people. [end recording]

The common denominator of speeches by Ranko Milovic, (Marijo Bakalbasic), Blagoje Lucic, Milan Gajovic, Todor Bakovic, (Predrag Ljubic), and others is that the Yugoslav party top leadership should be called to account at the 20th LCY Central Committee session because of their (?insulting) assessment of the October and other protest meetings in Montenegro, and the application of force on which justice is to pronounce. The continuation of the counterrevolution in Kosovo and the aggravation of disunity and crisis in the country are also reasons for their being called to account.

Sharp criticism was addressed to Comrade Gojko Tintor, president of the Croatian Veterans organization, for his unacceptable assessment of democratic Montenegrin gatherings. The debate in the Internal Policy Committee of the SFRY Assembly is also considered to have been rash, based as it is on the Interior Affairs Service report on the October and January events in Montenegro.

According to Bakovic, the roots of the crisis that caused the explosion of popular discontent are not difficult to perceive. They reach back to the changes of the Constitution in 1974. This Constitution legalized a system that bred bureaucracy and alienated workers from their product and the authorities from the people.

We have just received a report that the session of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro has been concluded. An extraordinary congress of the Montenegrin Communists will be held on 24 and 25 April this year. Four new members of the Central Committee and two members of its Presidium were elected.

Presidium, Central Committee Members

LD2801215389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1729 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Summary] Titograd, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—Four Central Committee members were elected during the session of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro today. They are Idrija Dacic, Milutin Lalic, Blazo Lopicic, and Damjan Seckovic. Two Presidium members were also elected. They are Veselinka Pekovic and Milutin Lalic. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro now has seven members, two fewer than the Presidium which submitted its collective resignation at the time of the protest meeting in Titograd.

New Kosovo Provincial Committee Members Elected

LD2701171189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—Twenty new members of the top party forum in the province were elected by a secret ballot at today's session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee (PC). They are: Rahman Morina, Tomislav Sekulic, Baskim Hisari, Djordje Bozovic, Ilijaz Ramajli, Radenko Krulj, Ramiz Seljami, Zivojin Martinovic, Afir Birdaini, Agim Malja, Tahir Daci, Osman Abazi, Sreten Cemovic, Slavica Krastanovic, Dzafer Murtezaj, Ramadan Krasnici, Hamdi Cerimi, Milan Stojcevic, Besalet Cerkez, and Ismail Damati. The present 64 PC members voted and all proposed candidates received the required two-thirds majority of votes.

The PC accepted a list of five candidates for the PC Presidium. They are the first five on the list of members, and a separate vote would be taken about them.

Afterward, a new round of votes for the proposed list of candidates for membership if the PC Presidium was taken. With minor explanations, the list was accepted.

Morina Elected Kosovo President

LD2701215889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—Rahman Morina was elected to the post of president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. The Provincial Committee Presidium decided this today and simultaneously nominated Tomislav Sekulic for the post of the secretary of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. Kosovo Communists will express their views about the proposal.

New Kosovo President Speaks

LD2701234389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1908 GMT 27 Jan 89

["Session of Kosovo LC provincial Committee: Rahman Morina Speech"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—Rahman Morina, new president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium thanked the members for his election and went on to stress that the Kosovo LC and the Provincial Committee are taking one of the most difficult tests. We are facing the major political question in Yugoslavia, Morina said. Counterrevolution and migration of Serbs and Montenegrins should be halted, differentiation should be carried out, and divisions among people should be reduced by removing causes.

We must break away from the policy which separated us, divided us, pulled us back, and alienated us one from another, Morina stressed. He said that it is high time not to place confidence in those individuals whose presence in political life does not induce trust but, on the contrary, deepens distrust. There can be no real solution without more radical moves, without differentiation, without getting rid of oportunists, and without the conviction that we are self-sufficient.

Stressing that no forum can accomplish anything without mobilizing the broad strata of Communists and the working class, Rahman Morina said that it is of crucial importance that the Albanian nationality becomes more and more aware of the fact that the struggle the LC is conducting in Kosovo is the class struggle and that the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists is contrary to the historical interests of the Albanian nationality, working class, and all working citizens of Kosovo. Likewise, any nationalistic activities in any surrounding whatsoever and against any of our nations or nationalities is contrary to the historical interests of one's own nation or nationality.

We must help young people above all with political work to free themselves from misconceptions, into which they were pushed by those who do not care for socialist Yugoslavia. This (political) work must be always favored above repression, which is, in fact, an expression of political impotence. Education in the spirit of the Yugoslav socialist patriotism must be the first choice, Morina stressed.

Morina pointed out that more complex and serious economic and social problems are concentrated in Kosovo than in other parts of Yugoslavia. Acknowledging all this, Morina continued, we must know that migration of Serbs and Montenegrins under political and other forms of pressures politically marked the situation in Kosovo. We must halt that process and ensure full legal and personal security and freedom. We must ensure that people can come to live in Kosovo without fear about the future.

Morina stressed that confrontations between leaderships do not lead to anything good and that we must act in a united fashion and in the interest of the whole country.

The newly elected president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium underscored that we should act within the people and with the people, and form a united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, Romanies, and Croats. The aim of the united front is to liquidate the counterrevolution in Kosovo and to reestablish intranational trust.

In connection with this, everything should be done and the widest mobilization should be carried out for changes, which each citizen could soon feel.

We should advocate a constitution that will lead to the consolidation of the republic and all of Yugoslavia and to the faster development of the province. "Our aim and our interests" cannot be different from those for which all progressive people strive: united and strong Yugoslavia of equal nations and nationalities, the newly elected president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium Rahman Morina stressed in conclusion.

Serbian People's 'Right' To Own State Asserted

LD2701230289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 27 (TANJUG)—Confrontations over the concept of changes in the political and economic system were affected by the slow resolving of the counter-revolution in Kosovo and the economic crisis in Yugoslavia, Serbian Republican Assembly President Borisav Jovic said today.

Internal misunderstandings have appeared because Serbia is now appearing as a strong political factor, because it will develop as a state, Jovic warned.

He said everyone must get used to this since that is the Serbian people's right.

Jovic recalled recent criticism and accusations of Serbia and its leadership and said Serbia was only asking for equal participation in resolving common questions and was not involving itself in other republics' affairs.

He said no limitation of Serbia's right to resolve its problems was accepted.

There would be less friction if fear of Serbia and its leadership ended and everyone understood that this stand would not be changed.

No one can frighten us with labelling, Jovic told economic and local political officials in Paracin.

Bogdan Trifunovic, Serbian Socialist Alliance president, energetically rejecting attacks on the Serbian League of Communists from some republics at a gathering in Krusevac. [sentence as received]

He said unfounded accusations of coup scenarios continued against the Serbian leadership as well as accusations that it was exporting the revolution, destroying system institutions and Yugoslavia. He recalled that that was all accompanied by comments on street democracy.

Trifunovic energetically rejected those attacks and said their authors were concealing the true causes of the crisis and trying to prevent progressive changes through an alleged defence of the system.

Serbian Patriarch Delivers Christmas Message

AU1801170589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 89 p 9

["Christmas Message by Patriarch German"]

[Text] The Christmas message that Mr German, patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, gave especially for POLITIKA, says:

Approaching our most joyful holiday, I cannot but remember the words of wise Bishop Rade who spoke through Prior Stefan:

"There is no daylight without eyes to see, and there is no proper glory without Christmas! I have celebrated Christmas in Bethlehem, I have celebrated it on Mount Athos, I have celebrated it in holy Kiev. And these celebrations are distinguished by their simplicity and joy: the fire burns brighter than ever, straw is strewed in front of the hearth, Yule logs are piled on the fire...."

This is for me the best illustration of the Christmas joy among our people and proof of the links of our man with God. "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given...." in the words of the Prophet Isaiah (Isaiah, Chapter 9, Verse 6). And, "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light...." (Isaiah, Chapter 9, Verse 2)

Therefore the Christmas customs, blessed by the mystery of the incarnation of the Son of God, have so deeply penetrated the tissue of our national essence and, as a special manifestation of the Serbian spirit, have created an indestructible cultural wealth that cannot be measured by any worldy value.

As in few other other places, God's two greatest commandments have found expression here: "...Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." And, "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself...." (St Matthew, Chapter 22, Verse 37-40).

Our suffering people have manifested their love of God throughout their history, following the undying example of their spiritual father St Sava, and their love of the neighbor through the spirit of Saint Prince Lazar, great martyr of Kosovo, who, in order to save the honor of his people and to help to save European Christianity, sacrificed himself and everything that was dearest to him. The import of his words does not pass away: "Let us die so that we may live forever, let us give ourselves as a living sacrifice to God, not as of old through transitory and deceptive feasting for our pleasure, but through an act of our blood. Let us not spare our lives so that we may be a vivid example to others; let us not faint before the horror that has come upon us, nor before the base strivings of the adversaries that have hurled themselves against us."

Following them and paying tribute to them, the Serbian Orthodox people are now enthusiastically building a memorial church to St Sava at Vracar, and are carrying the relics of Saint Prince Lazar, martyr of Kosovo, through the Serbian lands. This gives us the right to say that future generations of the Serbian people will be proud of the history that the Serbian Orthodox Church, and everything that bears the Serbian name, is writing with its constructive faith and love of God, truth, justice, and freedom.

Giving thanks to God for entrusting such important undertakings to our present generation, we rejoice in what was achieved in 1988, and we pray to the new-born infant God that in the year that is ahead of us we may complete the construction of the memorial church to St Sava at Vracar and, beginning the cycle of the holy services marking the 600th anniversary of the martyrdom of the great martyr, Saint Prince Lazar, and the

Kosovo battle, we may celebrate the first holy liturgy there in the presence of a large number of the faithful children of St Sava from our motherland and from all over the world.

Our unified and redoubled prayers of that day will be directed to the heavenly Creator in order to bring the 600 years of suffering in Serbian Kosovo and Metohija finally to come an end. The ancient Pec Patriarchate, Visoki Decani, the wonderful church of Gracanica, and the Devic martyry are Serbian Orthodox monasteries. They contain the graves and the relics of our saints. They are the title deeds of Serbian property and an inalienable heritage of the entire Serbian people.

We have been reproached for saying that the events in Kosovo and Metohija are an unhealed wound of the Serbian Orthodox Church. We have not reacted to this because we think that there is no reasonable person that would not find this clear by now.

In overcoming our Serbian and Yugoslav troubles, we recall at this moment the angels' song over the cave in Bethlehem: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." (Luke, Chapter 2, Verse 14) Only men of goodwill and men who are up to their tasks can write in a successful history of their people in a proper way and lead them to a better life, with Christ our God, and this means a life of peace and love, personal safety and social security. This is what can make our people happy. So that their happiness may reach its proper fullness, we remind all the spiritual children of St Sava, first educator of the Serbian people, and all the followers of the tenets and sacrifice of St Lazar of Kosovo of the God's commandment that has been recently neglected to such an extent: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth...." (Genesis, Chapter 1, Verse 28) for this is the only way to rule over it.

In this spirit, we greet our entire people and all the men of good will with the words of joy and peace:

Peace of God—the Christ has been born!

Happy and blessed New Year 1989, in which, we hope, the wishes of all those who wish well to their people and to their motherland will be fulfilled.

Sarajevo University Newspaper Ordered Banned

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Jan 89 p 13

[M.L. report: "VALTER Banned Permanently"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 13 Jan—The bench of three of the Sarajevo Higher Court, which was presided over today by Miroslav Gladanac, confirmed the ban on the sixth issue of the Sarajevo University youth paper VALTER. The court reconfirmed its decision of 4 January this year according to which the paper was banned for carrying a Christmas card in the form of a centerfold featuring a naked Santa Claus.

As is already known, the Supreme Court of Bosnia-Hercegovina yesterday rescinded the decision on the ban and referred the case to the Higher Court again saying that the first decision was made by a bench that did not comply with regulations.

Customs Cooperation Agreement Signed With PRC

AU2801132389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Customs Cooperation Between Yugoslavia and China"]

[Text] The quicker movement of goods and travelers and mutual aid in wiping out smuggling, especially of narcotic drugs, are the key issues on which there will be greater cooperation between Yugoslav and Chinese customs officials in the future.

An agreement on joint cooperation and aid of the two countries in this field was signed yesterday in the Federal Customs Administration by our director of customs, Zvonimir Pesic, and the ambassador of the PRC in Belgrade.